

BERRY-HILQUIT DEBATE.

HELD AT SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Joseph Malloney, the Chairman, announced that each speaker would have one hour, divided as follows:

Berry, 30 minutes; Hilquit, 30 minutes. Berry, 20 minutes; Hilquit, 25 minutes. Berry, 10 minutes; Hilquit, 5 minutes.

Chairman Malloney then read the following resolution on the subject of the debate.

Resolved That the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as against the tactics of the Social Democratic Party are for the benefit of the working class and the promotion of Socialism in America.

BERRY.

Mr. Chairman, Workingmen and Working women of Springfield:

The Socialist Labor Party takes this stand as a working class party. It says to the working class that the only way that class can be free is by the workers uniting as a class at the ballot box, taking possession of the powers of government, using that government for the purpose of dispossessing the capitalist class, and placing the working class in possession of the tools of production, distribution and exchange.

In order to do that the working class must be organized in a class party of its own. To quote Liebknecht, "Such a party must be other than the others." Such a party must be organized for this reason: That in society there is an irrepressible class struggle for life—that is, for the life of each class; that the capitalist class is making that struggle against the working class, and the working class is making that struggle against the capitalist class; that there is no way to patch up that struggle; that it means either the entire annihilation of the capitalist class, as a class, or it means the entire subjugation of the working class, as a class.

Now, the Socialist Labor Party says that there is in this country but one political organization that takes a stand in accordance with the principles that I have enunciated here—that is, that there is but one party in America which takes its stand for the working class, and for that class alone.

I am here to-night, fellow workers, to present to you the arguments of the Socialist Labor Party and of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which is its economic or trade union auxiliary. It am here to do that, and I am here to appeal to you, as working men and as working women. I am not here catering to your prejudices. I am not here asking you to take me upon faith. I am not here asking you to swallow without investigation what I am offering to you. I propose to prove every position that I take.

Now, with reference to the Socialist Labor Party, it appeared in the field first in the State of New York, I believe, in the year 1890. In this Commonwealth it set up its first State ticket in the year 1890, when Harry Robinson was its candidate for Governor. From the day that the Socialist Labor Party first raised its banner to-day not one act of treachery to the working class can be proved against that party. On the contrary, there is another party in the field, known as the Social Democratic, or—as it is politically styled in this State—the Democratic Social Party, which says that it, too, is a working class party.

Now, my friends, it doesn't make any odds what a man may claim to be. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating. In other words, by their acts they must be judged.

The Social Democratic Party came into existence, I believe, Mr. Chairman and working men and working women, some time during the month of June, in the year 1897. Mr. Eugene V. Debs was the founder of that organization. Mr. Debs had led a somewhat peculiar career as a trade unionist, and while one of the things which the Social Democratic Party pretends to pride itself upon to-day is that it is not a "union wrecker," Mr. Debs began his career as one of the most violent union wreckers, when he broke away from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and started the American Railway Union, which met its death at Pullman in 1894. To conceal the death of that organization, the Social Democratic Party was started. Now, when the Social Democratic Party was launched, in adding that political party into the troubled sea of political waters, Mr. Debs said, "I have with me every leader of sociologic and economic thought, except those who accept the orthodox teachings of capital." Now, fellow workers, when he said that he meant that he had with him every man in this country who rejected that work which all over the European continent is called by the working class the Bible of the wage worker—the life work of Karl Marx—capital.

Mr. Debs started out with the famous social democracy of that period, which proposed to take the working class out into the woods, wherever he could colonize that class, for he was going to free the working class through co-operative colonies. Well, the colonization and of the Debs movement succeeded admirably. In the brief period of fifty-one weeks it kicked itself to pieces. There was a convention, a new party was started—the famous Debs democracy, with the farmers' program attached to it. Now, the farmers' program was an excellent thing for the social democrats to use out in the Western country, in those states that had been in the Farmers' Alliance, and other movements of that kind. Mr. Debs proposed to follow out the maxim of the politician, and "catch more votes with molasses than he could with vinegar." He was "catching flies" so to speak, and he could appeal to those Westerners upon that, the farmers' program. He could come down here, into the East and appeal to the wage workers, who did not own farms, because he had another program, modeled somewhat after the fashion of the Socialist Labor Party. Now, that organization lived for a time, and the Socialist Labor Party harpooned it so thoroughly that the Debs party got to

work, took its ax, and looped off the appendage known as the farmers' program, thereby admitting that it was a fraud.

It wasn't a great while afterwards that it became necessary to change the name of that illegitimate offspring again, and they proceeded to do it. They then took and formed the Debs movement without the farmers' program and the colonization feature attached to it, and that movement lived until it was captured by the famous "kangaroo" party. Now, fellow workers, during this period peculiar things happened in the Social Democratic Party. I have told you at the outset that I would not ask you to take me on faith. I am not going to. I have made a collection of sundry and divers documents, NONE OF WHICH COMES FROM THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. And I propose to show to you that the Social Democratic Party is not a party of the working class. I propose to show you, workers, that the Social Democratic Party is a party of middle-class "skinners" of labor.

The Social Democratic Party has a stronghold in the city where I reside, in the city of Haverhill. That movement was born through the acts of Mr. Carey and some of his satellites in that city, who called together a meeting of the Socialist Labor Party of the section of which they were members at that time. Carey had been elected by the Socialist Labor Party from the fifth ward to the city council. He found out that the Socialist Labor Party was "narrow, bigoted, and intolerant." That is, that it wouldn't allow one of its members to dicker with the middle class, or capitalist class—and Carey was making hay while the sun was shining. The outcome was that Carey and his crowd got together with the following in the Socialist Labor Party, and the charter of Section Haverhill was surrendered on the night of the 14th of February, 1898.

Any of you working men or working women in this audience to-night can ascertain that fact by writing to the editor of the Haverhill Gazette, which published a long description of the proceedings. I was unable to get that particular paper, because it was bound in the files of that paper, and I could not bring it out here because it was so bulky. It happened on the 14th of February, and on the following 6th day of May, Mr. Carey—still a member of the city council of the City of Haverhill, after having repeatedly been requested by the officials of the Socialist Labor Party to resign the office that he said he would resign—over his signature, says, "No; I will not resign." And this went on until the 6th day of May following the disruption of Section Haverhill. In the meantime the Social Democratic Party had been organized in that city, with a flourish of trumpets. Mr. Debs and Mr. Carey came there, and set up a tremendous movement, so far as numbers were concerned. On the 6th day of May following that eventful 14th of February, a motion, or an order, was put before the city council, to provide for an ARMOY APPROPRIATION. Now, you working men and women haven't got to be socialists to understand what use the capitalist class makes of an armory appropriation. Albany tells the story. MR. CAREY, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMON COUNCIL, CAST HIS VOTE FOR THAT ARMOY APPROPRIATION. The Social Democratic Party had that fact called to its attention, with the result that it lay low and said nothing. Mr. Carey, when he was cornered for that act of treacherous conduct to the working class, says, "Why, if I didn't do it I would have been fined!" He says, "I had to vote for that!" The Socialist Labor Party said to Mr. Carey, "If that is true why were not the aldermen fined. They took that bill, put it into a 'pigeon hole,' and it stayed there until the next administration came along, and they took it up, and passed it, in a modified form, the Social Democrats voting against it on that occasion. Now, that is Act number one of Social Democratic treachery.

Again, they succeeded in landing the mayor in the City of Haverhill. It might be argued that Mr. Carey's vote on the subject of the armory appropriation was an accident. If he had said nothing, if his party had said nothing, Carey might have come along and said, "In the hurry of business I forgot where I was at, and accidentally voted for this armory appropriation. I did not do it intentionally." But he did not do anything of that sort. He set up one reason and another, each one more foolish than its predecessor, with the result that finally, in the City of North Adams, Mr. Carey says, "YES, I DID VOTE FOR THE ARMOY APPROPRIATION, AND I WOULD DO IT AGAIN!"

Now, with reference to that mayor. Here is an example from the public documents of the City of Haverhill. It appeared in the public documents of that city, in the year 1901, on page 15. It is an extract from the inaugural of mayor John C. Chase, the colleague and friend of Mr. Carey. It is the paragraph which Mr. Chase used on the subject of taxation. He says, "The subject of taxation is a vexing one to all municipalities, and always will be, so long as the present system exists. Every growing city is confronted with increasing needs, and a corresponding inability to provide for them by tax levy, and a recourse to bond issues is the only alternative." Bond issues take the place of tax levy. "When we, assuming of course, that the capitalist class and the working class are standing upon an equal basis—that each one has rights that are the equivalent of the rights enjoyed by the other,—"WE" says Mr. Chase, "are ready to assume control of the valuable franchises now in the possession of corporations, and administer them for the benefit of our municipality, WITH A CORRESPONDING DECREASE IN THE BURDEN UPON THE TAX PAYER." Does that sound like the doctrine of a

working class party, Mr. Chairman workingmen and workingwomen of Springfield? Who are the tax payers? Is it not a fact that the working class are the proletariat, that is they are propertyless. The average workingman, the working class taken as a class have got property enough, perhaps, it is problematical, to keep them ten days from the poorhouse.

Now again, in the neighboring town of Groveland, in the last municipal election in that town, I will show this paper to my opponent, and I will ask him if it is what he purports to be, an official ballot. He says that he has not the slightest doubt of it. Here is the official ballot used in the town of Groveland in the last municipal election. Here is one of the Social Democrats. He appears under selectmen and assessors for one year. John Morris, Salem street, citizens' candidate,—democratic social nomination paper. He asks the indorsement here of the social democratic party, and he is a social democrat himself. Why does he do it? The citizens happened to hold their caucus first. Morris was in doubt whether he would be nominated at all or not. He was going to take time for the forelock. He was one of those "early birds that catch the worms." He went down and got the nomination of the citizens, and then went up and got the indorsement of his own party, the social democratic party. This is the act of this "working class party," or act number two.

Now, I have got another document here, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen. I have used it considerably. I will show it to my opponent. I do not wish, Mr. Chairman, to act the part of a "winger." I am here to prove the contention of the Socialist Labor Party. Here, Mr. Chairman, workingmen and working women, is the official ballot of the twelfth Worcester representative district, used in the last State election. On this ballot we find, as representatives to the General Court, twelfth Worcester district, Frederick W. Bateman, of Harvard, republican; John C. Smith of Fitchburg, democratic social nomination paper,—democratic. He is the reverse of his running mate. He is a Social Democrat, and is nominated by his party. He then runs around, for fear he wouldn't be elected, he wasn't,—and he gets the indorsement of the democrats. That is exhibit number three of the "working class party."

Now again, out in the town of West Hoboken, I believe it is a town—there is another gentleman who is a Social Democrat. He runs under the name of Morris Eichmann. Mr. Eichmann ran on everything in sight, I guess, except the Socialist Labor Party ticket. He was a Democrat; Republican, a Citizens' Union, or whatever name the citizens' movement took down there,—and he was elected. When the Socialist Labor Party started in to lampoon the Social Democrats about the conduct of this fellow, they started in to make Mr. Eichmann resign, what happened? Why Eichmann said, "You fellows put me up to it!" Now he appeals to Old Glory, and sets up a defence for his position, and in the end he brings down all the constitutional law that a justice of the peace is capable of knowing anything about, to save him from resigning. The Social Democrats don't dare to force him out of the party. And that is not all. We have more.

I have another little document with reference to some of their majority skirmishes in the State of Massachusetts,—out in the city of Quincy. Here is a document which they got out, I believe, in 1898. This is Gustave B. Bates, their candidate for mayor. He is a good looking gentleman, and he has his picture on the front page. This man Bates is running to-day as candidate of the Social Democratic party for county commissioner in Norfolk county. Mr. Bates in his letter of acceptance starts out by saying, "My Chairman, comrades, and fellow working men." If I have got any conception whatever of the English language, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, of what "fellow working men" implies, it means, in this case that Mr. Bates is a working man. He tells you later on that he is a working man. Then he goes on to tell you more. He says, "Brother working men, for that is what I am, what I always have been, and what I always shall be, having toiled all my life for a living," and so forth. He then goes on to say, "In State affairs I have voted for Governor Butler, Russell, Greenhalge, and Wolcott, and Winfield P. Porter. In City affairs I have always been AN INDEPENDENT, AND I AM NOW." That is what Mr. Bates is, and what this "working class"—or alleged working class—party is! And that, you will see, is very particular language for this "working class" representative to hold. Mr. Bates tells you what his record is. He tells you it is his record, and I believe that my opponent in this debate, as a lawyer, will agree with me if I state that, in the absence of insanity—if the respondent is insane that would be an exception—but where the respondent is sane, there is no better evidence obtainable against a criminal than his own plea of guilty in open court. Mr. Bates says he was born in Boston, was educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, learned the plumbing trade, married at the age of twenty-four the youngest daughter of Rev. Thomas Spilsted of Weymouth. I presume that is to show the good in it,—went to Braintree, carried on his trade in Braintree for three years, came to Quincy, established a plumbing and heating business opposite the Quincy station, where he now carries on his plumbing and heating business. He is also the manufacturer of, and markets throughout the country, the Bates combination hot water heater, the Bates boiler, and the Bates laundry tag. That is not all, however, about this "working class" representative. It goes on to say, "Mr. Bates is one of the LARGEST TAX PAYERS AND PROPERTY HOLDERS IN THE CITY OF QUINCY, and also in Braintree, Weymouth, Scituate and Nantucket; never had any labor troubles in his business; never had a strike; always treated and considered his brother workmen as his equals," and so forth. This is "fellow workingmen." Now, why you ought to vote for him. He has got some reasons here. "Mr. Bates never used intoxicating liquors of any kind. Mr. Bates never used tobacco in any form. Mr. Bates never held public office." I don't think

he ever will. "Mr. Bates is a successful business man, and decidedly opposed to political chicanery. Mr. Bates resides in ward one, next to the Adams Academy." I will state that that is in the aristocratic portion of the City of Quincy. "Mr. Bates is a member of a lodge of Odd Fellows, and a member of a council of the Royal Arcanum. For the past ten years he has been a member of the Quincy Yacht Club. For the past nine years he has been a member of the Young Men's Christian Association of Quincy." Is there a single reason there why a working man should vote for Mr. Bates? All of that is for the purpose of catching "suckers," if you will pardon me for descending to the street to find an appropriate term to designate the tactics of the Social Democratic party and its candidates.

Lately there appeared another choice bit of information. Here is the Boston Traveler of August 21st, 1901. I use this paper for the reason that I can get onto this much more quickly as I can a hurry, than I can in the Social Democratic organ, the "Clarion," or the paper that was the "Social Democrat." It is now the "Clarion." Like its party, it has changed its name. Mr. Chase has another interview with the "Traveler" reporter. Among other things, he says, "Mr. Chase," says the Traveler, "claims that the prospects of the Socialist Party in Massachusetts were never more bright. He informed the reporter that the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the social democrats have been removed." If that is true, Mr. Chairman and workingmen and workingwomen of Springfield, in the name of common sense what are we holding this debate for to-night? The lie is given to it by that act. Then he goes on to say that the principles laid down by John Carver and William Bradford in Plymouth in 1620 are good enough for to-day. I will come to that later. He then goes on to say that Robert Treat Paine and George Fred Williams have "socialist leanings." They have! and their leaning is for the Social Democratic party, and they will have it before a great while, for the Democratic party is the graveyard of every freak party that has grown up in America for the past fifty years. And not only that, but he winds up this interview by saying, when he is asked whether or not the Social Democrats will support Mr. Bradford for the democratic candidacy for governor,—he then goes on to tell that George Fred Williams and this other man, Paine, that they helped the Social Democratic party in the last election. There isn't any doubt but what they did, for the simple reason that the Social Democratic party was set up as a protest to the working class movement.

The capitalist class recognized in that the movement that is necessary to be used by capitalism to run the working class revolution into the ground. The Social Democratic party is not a socialist party. It is a protest to the socialist party. The Socialist Labor Party is the only socialist party in America to-day. I will come later to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. I will take that up in the next twenty minutes which I will spend upon this platform.

Now, Mr. Chairman, fellow workingmen and workingwomen, it must be plain from those various acts that they are not isolated instances; that they are the rule rather than the exception. Out in California the Social Democrats beg jobs from the Democratic mayor of San Francisco. Out in Peekskill, New York, they take the cheap bribes of city politicians in the same way. They do that anywhere and everywhere that they can get into office, and not so very long ago a man in the City of Haverhill testified that he was told by the social democrats, that, in the campaign of 1898, when Mr. Chase was elected mayor, that the rum-sellers of that city paid the campaign bills of the Social Democratic party upon the consideration that the Social Democrats would vote for license.

HILQUIT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The danger of debates of this kind always is that the debaters are but too often apt to forget the subject of the debate. Now, I do not object to Mr. Berry talking of anything he thinks interesting to the public. I would not object to meet him on any subject. But as it happens, just to-night, the subject was a definite one. The subject was—I will read it, Mr. Chairman,—"Resolved that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as against the tactics of the Social Democratic Party, are for the benefit of the working class and the promotion of Socialism in America." As it happens, my opponent did not mention the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. As it happens, in fact, he forgot about the subject of our debate. I think, however, that the subject is of such importance to the working class, and to the labor movement in general, that we would rather argue it out on its merits. I will try to recall him now to the actual issues before us. I will try to insist that, in the next twenty minutes and ten minutes which he has, he will kindly return to it.

The question is not whether or not six or seven or eight men of the Social Democratic party are unwise, committed wrong acts, or are unfit for membership in the Socialist party. Whenever we have occasion—and it may happen in this debate to-night—I will endeavor to show you briefly that the acts brought forward against the seven or eight persons mentioned by the speaker are without foundation. But, admitting for a moment that they were fully founded, fully justified, fully proved, what would that show against a party consisting of 11,000 enrolled members? What would that show against a party as such? If you want to know the principles of a party, the standing of a party, it has always been customary to take its platform, the official expression of its views, to analyze it, to take the official utterances of its national committee, to analyze it, and so what the platform of the party is. To take the expressions of five, or six, or eight men, or their acts, and construe from them the policy of a party, is to say the least that can be said unscientific and unfair. If we proceed upon this supposition, and if we take the official organ of the party represented by my opponent,—those very people,—and if we read right there the acts per-

formed by them daily against their own members, whom they are expelling by the bushel almost every week,—rushing almost all the courts with all sorts of criminal acts,—acts of treason against the party, against the working class, kangarooing, and other hideous crimes,—why, we have to turn to our opponents, our friends on the other side, to look for scapegoats, for black sheep in our own parties.

But I am not here to entertain you with slanders of this kind. I am not here to show that one party or the other party has a dozen unworthy members, or had them at some time. That is, if I had admitted these things in all these cases. But, as stated before, I do not admit them, and will return to it,—or to some of them, at least,—when occasion arises. In the meanwhile, we will return to the subject.

The subject before us really is, if we direct it of its form of resolution, whether it is the policy of the Socialist Labor Party towards trade unions, or that of the Social Democratic party, which is more beneficial to the Socialist movement and to the working class.

My opponent was supposed to prove to you that the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, their trade union tactics, are the most beneficial for the working class. I supposed, and will endeavor to prove to you that those of the Social Democratic party are the best. How will we determine the question? I believe the only way to determine it is, first, what ought the tactics of the Socialist Party towards the trade union movement to be; next, what are the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party; and next, what are those of the Social Democratic Party.

The present capitalist system of production has a dual effect upon the working class. On the one hand, it has a tendency of deteriorating; that is, lengthening his hours of labor, diminishing his wages, increasing his economic dependence. On the other hand, it has a tendency towards organizing the working class in resistance towards that tendency of the capitalist class to increase and intensify the exploitation of labor. Now, these two opposite tendencies—the one to intensify exploitation, and the other to diminish exploitation, or to resist any attempts of the capitalist class to intensify the workers' condition—what we call the class struggle, which pervades modern society in all its classes. The manifestations of these class struggles are various. The very first fruit manifested of that struggle is the sporadic individual effort of the working man to protect his individual interests against those of his employer. In such cases the working man usually does not reason. It is more like an instinct with him, more like the instinct of the animal in its struggle for preservation. By any trick or device, by any cunning, he will either get a little raise in his wages, or a little more favorable condition of working, in any respect. The first form of class struggle known to organize for the working man's interests was the organized struggle of the working men of one trade against their employers. This is a more advanced condition of the class struggle. There you find working men who already see some connection between their interests and the interests of their fellow workmen. They appreciate the fact that their fate is linked to the fate of their fellow craftsmen in the same shop, or in the same trade, and that, unless united, they are powerless to resist the exploitations of their employers. There you have the form of class struggle most crude shape, common to all trade unions. There the workmen are somewhat conscious of the condition of their class, but not necessarily fully conscious. Their vision does not necessarily extend above the interests of their own trade. And lastly, you have the workingman whose class struggle is not a matter of instinct, but one of human reasoning, but is more the result of close analysis and study and knowledge of social conditions. It is the working man who recognizes that his exploitation, as well as the exploitation of all workingmen of his trade, is but part of the general exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class; who sees the connection between things; who sees that exploitation is the necessary consequence of existing present economic conditions, who sees, at the same time, that neither he individually, nor all the workingmen of his particular trade are able to improve the conditions of the working class permanently; who realizes that, as long as the present system of production, the capitalist system, exists and continues, the working class will be exploited, a temporary and comparatively small party only being possible through trade union men—this is the Socialist.

You see, then, that there is in fact a close resemblance between these various forms. Socialism is practically extended trade unionism, as far as the fundamental principle is concerned. Both socialism and trade unionism are children of the same mother. In the present capitalist system of exploitation there are different manifestations of the class struggle. Of course, they have their distinctions. In the first place, in the nature of things, as I have tried to describe them, socialism is general in its scope and interests. It represents the interests of the entire working classes. Trade unionism is particular. It represents the temporary interests of certain trades only. You may translate them into the same term. Socialism is a political movement. Trade unionism is an economic movement. It is really the same thing. The difference between the economic movement and the political movement is one of degree, and not one of sense. You will find a certain trade fighting for eight hours a day. As soon as it is made an issue for all the workmen of the State it is embraced in the State platform. Politically they have it, and economically. Every political achievement of any socialist party means the economic benefit of the working class.

Another distinction between the two is that socialism must necessarily be conscious, based upon conscious class struggle; whilst trade unionism need not necessarily be class conscious. From this definition the relation between the two, socialism and trade unionism, follows very easily. It has always been the view of socialists all over the world that their place is in the trade unions. In the trade unions, first of all, in order to assist the workmen to organize in

trades, in order to improve their condition.

We socialists do not expect a transformation of the present mode of society, a revolution, from the hungry, desperate rabble. We expect it from a well educated, well trained, working class. And in order to have a well trained, well educated, working class we must, first of all, improve the condition of the working man. The man who works in the shop twelve or ten hours a day, and comes home full of cares for his daily living, that man cannot study your social platforms. That man can hardly ever attain to scarcely anything of the doctrine of scientific socialism. The trade unions are indirectly of the greatest help to socialism. And next, the trade unions are the best training school for the independence of the working man against the capitalist. And lastly, the trades unions are the most fruitful field for propaganda among the working class. Recognizing this, socialists in all countries have always been the unwavering friends of organized labor, have helped and assisted them in their hardest fights, and always been inseparable from them. The organized workmen in any other socialist country know very well that, in their trials and troubles, their appeals to the socialists will always meet with response. And socialists, on the other hand, always know that the best work they can do is among organized workmen. Such, also, has been the policy of socialism in this country, up to 1895, when the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was organized as a challenge to all existing organized labor,—was organized as a declaration of war against them, and where an attempt was made to change radically the policy of Socialists against organized labor. My friend represents this Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. They introduced a new and radical departure from the tactics of the socialists hitherto in vogue. It was for him to come here to-night to defend the meaning of it. It was for him to come here to explain why this new feature of his party was necessary, why the present existing organized unions are hopeless, and why the new feature of the party holds out any better hope for the working class, and how it promotes the interests of socialism in this country. Have you heard his explanation? Do you know why it is? Is it because one who had a beautiful face issued some kind of a statement, which is an attempt to claim everything? Or is it because another one voted for an armory appropriation, and so on? All this explains to you beautifully why the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has been organized. As I don't have his arguments, I'll I can do is to take the arguments of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance,—the arguments usually produced by the parties represented by my opponent,—and see whether or not they apply,—the arguments usually produced by them in support of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, that existing trade unions—the trade unions, pure and simple—are corrupt, hopelessly corrupt; that they have fallen especially under the dominion of corrupt leaders; that these leaders cannot possibly be improved upon, and therefore all we can do is to eradicate trade unions, and build up a new trade union movement on more progressive principles.

Now then, I believe that most of you—or a great many of you, at least,—belong to trade unions. Will anyone say that all organized working men are corrupt? Will anyone say that the majority of them are corrupt? If anyone says that, what business does he have in a socialist school? Whoever has such a pessimistic view of the working class as to believe that all men, either as organized working men or singly, are corrupt, can never expect much from this same working class. You condemn not only a dozen, but you condemn entire humanity. Therefore we will say that some of the leaders,—or, let us say a great many of the leaders, are corrupt. Well, first of all,—admitting that a great many of the leaders in the present trade union movement are corrupt, is that a good reason why we should declare war against trade unions? Is there no better way of improving the trade unions than by killing them, declaring war on them?

The next question is,—what the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance do to improve that state of facts? We call ourselves scientific socialists, and so do the members of the Socialist Labor Party. We are in the habit of examining phenomena, analyzing them, going deeper than mere appearances, and we have asked ourselves, what has produced corrupt leaders? Why do they exist? And the answer will be,—The only reason why corrupt leaders exist in trade unions is, first of all, the temptation from outside in the present system is very strong, and the trade unions at present are not sufficiently educated to resist that temptation. These who have power in the trade unions very frequently fall away. Educate your tradesmen! Do that! Have your own understand the principles of their own struggle, their own class principles. Make them conscious socialists, and you will see how impossible it will be for corrupt leaders to have a foothold in the trade unions. And, on the contrary, as long as the bulk of the working class, organized or unorganized, will remain deficient in education, deficient in development, in their mental development, you may change the form of organization, you may call them the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, or the holy alliance,—you may call them by whatever name you please,—as long as conditions remain unchanged the results will be the same, and you will have your corrupt leaders.

The only way to do away with corrupt leaders is to do away with the causes begetting corruption. If the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance will do away with those causes, they will educate the working class properly, and make the existence of corrupt leaders impossible. Let us see how! Of whom is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance composed? It is a riddle to me. I should like to know it. Is it composed of socialists, according to its name? Of what service is it to the socialist movement? What does it mean, then? Is it composed at

socialists, men already converted, organized on a different form, and called the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? Does the Socialist movement gain by it? It makes no new converts. Does the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance give something that the original Socialist does not give? The other organizations say it smashes them. How, then, do they carry the propaganda of Socialism among the trades unions?

Again, if the members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance are not Socialists, if they are just workmen of any political creed, then they are exactly the same as the workmen you have in the pure and simple trade unions, of the same degree and level of intelligence, and of course their leaders have the same principles and form the same principles. What guarantee does the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance offer us that the others do not? That is, as far as a priori reasoning is concerned. Say, however, that the old means of the trades unions are no more effective; strikes don't work any more; boycotts don't go. What does the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance criticize so? Have they invented a new instrument of oppression of the working class? They answer you, the ballot. Of course, that has nothing to do with trade unions. The ballot is the weapon wielded by political parties. If not the ballot, in the strikes and boycotts. Why is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance stronger than the other unions? On the contrary, if it consists of Socialists only, it ought to be weaker. Take a machinists' strike, a strike in the machinists' trade. If not only all machinists strike, but all Socialists, what will be the result? You will have more to resist the power of capital with than if you call off only twenty per cent., or twenty-five or thirty per cent.; and, all being Socialists, you will have more chance of winning the strike than if ninety per cent. are only a conglomeration of different colonies.

I can't possibly see—and I will be obliged to my opponent if he will forget the existence of Carey for just one moment, and just answer this question,—what are the new weapons of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? From the beginning the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance seems not to have been in this. But it is a question of tactics. It is not a question of principle. We can measure the efficiency of certain tactics, of certain methods, best of all by results. Practically, there is no other standard to measure by. If a principle is correct, if a principle is good, those tactics that will lead to its organization and results easiest, those methods will be the best. Now then, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has existed over six years, or about six years. I would like to know, first of all, what has the association accomplished for the working class? Who is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to-day? Will my opponent kindly answer? Of how many members does it consist? How many industries does it control? What part does it play in the economic field of this country? What else has it done to improve the lot of the working man in this country? What benefit has it conferred upon the party represented by my opponent?

He has not told you a word about his own troubles. He has told you all about the troubles of the Social Democratic party, for the welfare of which he is very solicitous. But is it not a fact that the very same Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance organized by them has split their party, that it has practically destroyed the party? Is it not a fact that, in this very question of the Socialist Alliance tactics, and everything else that goes with it, the party has been losing in membership steadily, until in July 1899 it was divided into two halves, and from that time on that this party has been going on expelling those who did not withdraw themselves? Is it not a fact that the Socialist Labor Party to-day practically plays no part at all in the political movement of this country? Now, then, what are the politics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in this respect? It has not benefited the working class. It has, on the other hand, injured its party. Where does it come in, in answer to both questions before us—that is, in its benefit to the working class, and in the promotion of Socialism?

I would like to avoid a further speech of the kind delivered by my opponent, and ask him, in regard to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, so that we may know what it means. The first is, Does the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance consist of Socialists only? And if so, what benefit is it to the Socialist movement? Second, Does it consist of different political creeds? Then, what is the difference between it and the pure and simple organization? and, incidentally, what guarantees do the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance give against the corruption of leaders? Third, What is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? What is its numerical strength, and what industries does it control? Fourth, What benefit does it confer on labor? Fifth, How does it benefit the Socialist movement? And there is another question I will add.—What more efficient measures than strikes and boycotts does it have? I would like my opponent at this time to answer these questions.

BERRY.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Workingmen and Workingwomen:

The gentleman representing the Social Democratic Party has told you on this floor that I told you about the woes of Social Democracy, but not one word about the woes of the Socialist Labor Party. I have got a double-headed job on hand here, to the extent that I have got to talk about two different movements, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, while my adversary can confine himself to the Social Democratic party and its love for the trade unions.

Now, about the Socialist Labor Party,—yes, it has had its own troubles. But the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic party is this:—when the Socialist Labor Party catches a crook he is expelled; and when the Social Democratic party catches a crook he is exalted. Almost everyone in the Socialist Democratic Party to-day high in the councils of that organization is an expelled member of the Socialist Labor Party. He either embezzled our funds or betrayed the working class, as did Carey and Chase. He speaks of the Kangaroo move-

ments of 1896, when we lost one-half of our members, and when we "split," as he terms it. There was no split about that at all. It was a bath. We were split, and we took a bath. Instead of having a split we simply took a bath. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that if any of us happened to go out into the river here, and takes a swim, we haven't parted with anything that we want. We get rid of a lot of refuse matter, which we didn't want, anyhow. That was what happened. And Mr. Hilquit was one of the men we got rid of.

Again, he tells you that he wants me to answer his questions. I will; because I may ask of him the same privilege. Now, fellow workers, The Socialist Labor Party does not fight trade unions. Bear that in mind. The Socialist Labor Party fights the trade union pure and simple—a particular kind of trade union. And here is the truth about the convention report of the Socialist Labor Party, and here is its declaration upon the subject of trade unionism, adopted at its last convention:

Attitude of the S.L.P. of the United States towards Trades Unionism Genuine and Bogus.

1. We conceive the genuine trade union as a militant body, originating from the very nature of the class struggle under capitalism, instituted to resist the degradation and promote the elevation, NOT ONLY OF ITS OWN MEMBERS, BUT OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS, and destined, therefore, to act an important part in the war for social emancipation.

Since capitalism, with its consequent wage system, rests upon institutions essentially political, genuine trade unionism, as alone defined, not only must fight in the shop every workday the individual exploiters of labor, but must especially, uncompromisingly, at all costs and at all hazards, fight the political parties of capitalism on election day. Its chief motto must be: "No union card will justify the political scab; he is a traitor to his class."

2. In their infancy the trade unions, moved by a spirit of class solidarity, were incidentally led to undertake the relief of the unemployed, maimed and decrepit members, sick, injured and pauperized by the capitalist system. But, as capitalism developed, steadily increasing enforced idleness, misery and sickness, and general demoralization, this incidental feature not only was given more and more importance as it became less and less practiced, but (together with the strike itself, which, with the sacred weapons of economic defense) was turned by schemers or labor fakirs into a means of exploiting their fellow workmen.

Hence the bogus trade unionism, now known as "trades unionism pure and simple," from which the natural fundamental purpose of unionism, namely, the conduct of the class struggle with a constant view to the complete emancipation of the wage working class, is entirely banished, and in which capitalism is accepted as a finality.

This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class, and its political lackeys, who promote it, bribe it, and use it as a rampart against the rising tide of Socialism. It has forbidden within its very precincts the very politics it should encourage and the only ones it should permit. It has alienated or driven away every worker honest and capable enough to show in its true light the nature of the class struggle. It has resolved itself into a close corporation that denounces as a "scab" any craftsman to whom it refuses admission in order to secure for its membership a monopoly of capitalist kicks and favors. It has steadily begged from American capital its protection against the "pauper labor" of Europe, while this same capital provides itself every year with millions of "pauper laborers" of iron and steel, costing eight cents a day to feed with machine oil and coal. It has converted itself when it had some funds into small middle class insurance concerns and charitable institutions for the doctoring of its sick, the burying of its dead, and, foremost of all, the remunerative employment of its officials. In a word, it has repudiated the labor movement, blotted out its history and sealed its own death warrant.

2. Now, however, arises the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which, in its fundamental principles, final aims and practical methods realizes our conception of Trade Unionism.

Absent of the times, watchfully answering the needs, requirements of economic organizations in the changed and ever-changing environment, it is already a power in the economic struggle and has won victories that the A. F. of L., or any other fakir-ridden agglomeration of planless and spiritless elements never thought of facing. For the strength of a labor organization is not in the membership, nor in the amount in its treasury, but in the height of its aims and the depth of its solidarity. Therefore, be it.

Resolved that we organize in the S. T. & L. A. the economic arm of the S. L. P. and its indispensable adjunct in its incessantly incessant, deadly conflict between the working class and the capitalist class.

That we urgently impress upon the Socialist comrades and all sympathizers the necessity of ceaseless propaganda in favor of the S. T. & L. A.; that we expect from them that they will join the local trade or mixed alliances which may already exist in their respective localities, and promote the formation of such alliances where none have yet been established.

Let the Socialist watchword everywhere be: "Down with the trade unions, pure and simple." "Away with the labor fakirs." "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P." "Onward with the Social Revolution."

Now, Mr. Chairman, that is the declaration of the Socialist Labor Party as to trade unionism. It is explicit and authoritative enough.

Again, the gentleman tells you what a great field the trade unions are for the propagation of socialist principles. As a matter of fact, the socialist movement cannot be built up until the pure and simple trade union is laid in the dust. The men who call your attention to an opening express trade is not assuming

responsibility for your life. If you stay on the track and are killed you should blame your own stupidity, and not the man who called your attention to the danger. The Socialist Labor Party puts itself in the position of that man, and points out to the working class the danger that lurks in the pure and simple trade unions, with their Labor Lieutenants.

And there is Gompers, who tells the working class to boycott the cash register. How many cash registers do you buy per annum? Gompers has done that. And while the Dayton workers are on a strike this spring, Gompers goes to work and prints scab "ads." for the Cash Register Company, in Dayton, whose workmen are out on a strike against the Dayton Cash Register Company.

Again, we find how those pure and simple trade unions are "propagating" socialism. Here is an indorsement, indorsed by the council of Trades and Labor Unions, of Detroit, Dr. Ames and Duncan, MacFarlane et al.

"The above-named candidates for the State Legislature, having favorably answered the questions submitted to the Board, we therefore indorse them and recommend to all citizens interested in good government"—good government for the working class or the capitalist class.

And that slimy crowd, that perpetuates such infamous work upon the working class, is the crowd that the Social Democratic Party bolsters up, patting them on the back. Those men who do that kind of work do not differ materially from Judas Iscariot, other than that Judas Iscariot was better than they are, for after he got the thirty pieces of silver he had sense enough to go out and hang himself, and those fellows haven't got that amount of decency. And furthermore than that, they applaud this nefarious conduct. Here is a document gotten out by a certain organization—the International "Assassination" of mechanists, as someone appropriately terms it. It is like this:

"Union mechanists of Boston and vicinity will turn out, and you are requested to join with them and make the demonstration a success, now that the L. A. M. has taken its place at the head of the labor movement. If you intend to be with us, please notify us, so that we can figure on the number of hats, badges, and canes needed." This is signed by William Dyer, chairman Machinists' Union, 187 Washington Street. Who is William Dyer? He is a Kangaroo Social Democrat.

Now, fellow workers, that is not all. As Mr. Hilquit put it, "Success is the test of merit." If that is so, the trade unions stand in this position. In 1890, at a time when the workers of this country were producing eight billion dollars' worth in that year, they were getting at that time sixty-two and one-half per cent of that back in the form of wages. So says the Census Bureau; so said the statisticians. In 1890, when the amount of work produced had reached sixty-five billion dollars' worth, seventeen and three-tenths per cent, is what goes to the wage worker, not half of what the wage workers were getting in 1890. We are sliding away from that.

Take the Amalgamated Steel Workers, or the International Machinists—every strike they get into lost. The pure and simple unions have reached a point today where they know they cannot match with the capitalist. See what Tobin is doing in the trade I work at most of my time, the shoe trade! You will find Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, formerly a Socialist, making deals with the capitalists, in which he proposes to furnish scabs for the bosses when the shoe workers go on a strike. That is what those fellows are doing. And Tobin is a Social Democrat.

Take the cigarmakers in Tampa. Look at the deportations of cigarmakers of Tampa. You have seen accounts in the papers about the forcible deportation of the cigar makers of Tampa. They had always got big wages, and that was the signal to the American Federation of Labor to scab their jobs. What did they do? When the bosses attempt to break the organization of La Resistencia who do they have to assist them? What organization is it? The Cigar Makers' International Union, that sends its men from the City of New York, and helps in the nefarious work of breaking up the program of the Cuban Cigar Makers' Union! And that, Mr. Chairman, is the organization that the Social Democratic party bolsters up as par excellence.

Now, if it was only one man, or only six men, that the Social Democrats had in their party that were crooked, and the party was otherwise clean, then those, that would be a very different thing. The rank and file of the Republican party are working men. The rank and file of the Democratic party are workmen. The rank and file of the army of the United States of America, or of Russia, are working men. But those are not working class organizations. They are organizations of capitalism, and are run in the interests of the capitalist class. So it is with the pure and simple trade unions with their labor fakirs. Mark Hanna, in the case of the mine workers, so aptly spoke of them as his trusted labor lieutenants. He recognized them as such. He knows them well.

In the Social Democratic party those men that I have spoken of are leaders. They are not ordinary members, marching in the ranks. Not by any means. Carey, Gordon, the man who to-day don't dare to be honest, to the working class because of this indictment which Uncle Sam holds over him for robbing the mails.

There is one thing that the gentleman has spoken about. He said he didn't think that it was of any concern who the men were that made up a movement. The Social Democratic party think so.

(Berry reads indictment against Gordon and says.)

This bears the seal of the Supreme Court of the United States of America for the District of New Hampshire—the State for the capitalist politicians. That State whose politician can give Tammany Hall cards and spades, and beat it hands down. By whom is this indictment signed as district attorney? By John S. H. Frink, a politician.

The result is that Gordon has gone into the trade unions and worked up strikes. He made himself a good fellow

with the strikers, and then furnished scabs at so much per scab for the bosses. He went from there into the Populist movement, and into the Socialist Labor movement, took our money in this State, and tried to throw the Socialist Labor Party to Debs. After trying to throw it to Debs, he was thrown out of our ranks, joined the Social Democrats, claims now that he don't belong to any party. He is now on the move, booming the scab labor of John F. Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

I could go on till morning enumerating those fellows. Let me say here, if you go into a clothing store for a coat, you don't take the clerk's word. You examine the coat for yourself. Apply the same reasoning to the political party. When you find that the men that run that party are crooks, you must of necessity come to the conclusion that "something is rotten in Denmark." The doctrine that you can fight capital with capital is a lie, and so a principle, and that is why the labor fakir flourishes. I will take the rest of the time that I have to answer those questions that I haven't yet answered. The questions are, Does the S. T. & L. A. consist only of Socialists, and if so, of what benefit is it to the Socialist Movement? It takes the workingmen and organizes them. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance takes them and educates them; that is, along the lines indicated in the Socialist resolution, which I have read. We teach them that, for a workman to work every day for unionism, and then scab it on election day, that that man is the worst scab of all.

HILQUIT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—First of all, I am exceedingly sorry that my friend at the very last moment befriends himself that he doesn't have time to answer the questions I gave him. As it happens, both his first and second times in this debate he has consumed in mud slinging, and nothing else. He has no time to debate his subject. I have still not heard the subject of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, or the trade union policies of his party, the only subject before us, mentioned; and I must confess that if I had been told that this would be a mud slinging contest I would give out to my friend before the debate. I know that he can do as much, if not more, in this line, than any member of our party. I came here under misrepresentation of facts, and I have a claim against you. You told me you were going to have a debate. You told me questions of principles would be discussed, questions of tactics. Instead of that, you give me Mr. Berry, with a whole lot of literature, each and every page of which contains a dirty story of somebody, which is given to you as an indication as to how unclean our party is. I am sorry to have to go into these matters, but I will at least have to answer some of his remarks, even though he has not answered my questions.

He says that one of the differences between the Socialist Labor Party and us is, when they catch a crook they expel him. Now, gentlemen, since 1899 up to the present time they have been catching crooks in their party; since that time up to time they have been expelling members after members for being crooks. It is quite lamentable. And, mind you, the time is very short when only De Leon, and Vogt, and Mr. Berry, I suppose, will remain in the party, they having expelled the other crooks.

You remember, gentlemen, the story of the juror. A jury was deliberating on a case, and they kept out a long time. They stayed out twenty-four hours, and finally came out, and one of them was asked, "Why didn't you agree sooner?" He said, "O, I agreed easily, but the trouble was that all the other eleven jurors couldn't seem to see it." All the others were obstinate, and couldn't agree with him. All the members of the party are crooks, except those three, and they don't seem to see it. It is exactly the same thing. It wasn't a split, he says, a little thing that cost them sixty-five or seventy per cent of their vote, and that almost reduced them to nothing but a farce in the eyes of the movement! It wasn't a split; it was a bath! Might it be pertinent, Mr. Berry, to ask you, why do you have to bathe yourself so often, and when did you take a bath before?

I am sorry to make these disagreements. I wouldn't have done so if I hadn't been forced into it. But I was forced, and that much is wasted. I will return to the subject. They don't fight trade unionism generally, but only trade unions pure and simple. You know trade unions pure and simple are the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor, all organized labor, except the three members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. They fight all the pure and simple trade unions, yet they don't fight these three. And do you know how they fight them? Mr. Chairman? That Mr. Berry doesn't tell. Mr. Berry doesn't tell anything about that. But not long ago it was, and it still remains a matter of record, that they fight by scabbing.

I will show you another little instance, taking an instance of every little memory—the steel strike. You know, all of you, it was the first strike against the most powerful corporation, the most powerful with them. The fact is, that was a class war of gigantic dimensions. What should the attitude of the Socialist party be in such a case? What is the attitude the capitalist would act. Of course they tried to belittle the gains of the steel strikers. Of course they tried to discourage the men. Of course they invited the demon to distrust to creep into their ranks. They do everything to break up the strike. But a socialist party does something different. It sends men into the field to help them in the strike as much as they can, get funds, make collections for them, and all that. It is class struggle, and it is class warfare. And only through lucidly instructing them upon the principles of socialism, showing them at the same time that you are their friends, their unselfish friends, can you gain such large masses of working men for socialist purposes.

What do our friends do? They have a daily paper, which is being only read by those who are not crooks. It has a very small circulation. This paper print-

ed some articles on the strike. I will read you some of the headings. August 1st "Again Schaffer Strikes." August 4th "Turned Down." August 5th "Wipe Out the Amalgamated; Schaffer Determined." August 10th "Steel Workers Out on a General Strike." August 12th "Miners' Conference." That is the way the sympathetic strike is referred to. The next heading, August 21st, "Refused to Strike." August 22nd, "No Hope for Strikers." August 24th, "Fakirs Have a Pow-Wow." August 25th, "Strike Closes, With Settlement As Far Away As At the Beginning." August 26th, "All is Confusion; Schaffer is in a Hole, and Unfortunately Does Not Know It." August 30th "The Strike. The Steel Trust is Getting More Help." September 3rd, "The Obedient News: Schaffer on Horseback." and, finally, September 15th, "Triumph of the Steel Trust. Amalgamated Practically Lost Everything."

I am asking you, ladies and gentlemen, if this is read by the strikers, or by any organized labor, would they consider it for one moment as anything but the most earnest capitalist sheet? Do you think they would not soon become aware that they had a reason for belittling the strike, and for discouraging the strikers? They tell me it is the pure and simple union, and it had to be tramped under foot. But there was your dozen of socialist trade and labor alliance workers? Why didn't you wait until the strike was over, and then talk reason to the workingmen? Why are they against the methods of the pure and simple unions? The methods of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance are a different thing, as he says. I have here a communication which is interesting for several good reasons. It is one addressed to William L. Brower, Secretary General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

To the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, William L. Brower, General Secretary:

At the last meeting of District Alliance 19 the district delegates from local Alliance 267 were instructed to draw up and send you the following resolution protesting against the action of District Alliance 49 relative to Auerbach, a printer, in their use of the label:

"WHEREAS, We, District Alliance 19, understood the S. T. & L. A. to be a voluntary organization of the working class based upon the principles of the irrepressible class struggle, and

"WHEREAS, We understand its object to be the overthrow of the capitalist system of government and the emancipation of the working class by organizing the wage-workers into a class-conscious body, and using their political and economic power to accomplish its mission, and

"WHEREAS, A compulsory organization can have no discipline within its ranks which is essential to achieve its object; and

"WHEREAS, To an organization of the working class based upon revolutionary principles compromise with the capitalist class is the denial of its fundamental principles; and

"WHEREAS, District Alliance 49 has, according to the report published in the DAILY PEOPLE of August 8th compromised with the capitalist class inasmuch as they instructed their secretary to go before a member of that class imploring him to use his power to enforce the mandates of District Alliance 49 and organization that depends upon the power of the boss to maintain its membership and collect its dues is absolutely impotent on the economic field; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That District Alliance 19 of Massachusetts most emphatically condemns the said action of D. A. 49 in adopting the tactics of organized scabbery by going to the boss and telling him that he must either give up the label or make his employees pay dues and attend the meetings of the S. T. & L. A.; and be it further

"RESOLVED, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A. and also to the DAILY PEOPLE.

H. R. MANLEY,
JOHN W. RYAN,
MICHAEL CROTTY,
Committee on Resolutions.
MICHAEL T. BERRY,
Organizer, D. A. 19.

Michael T. Berry—Does he happen to be an acquaintance of yours? You see there is a little explanation following, showing practically that there was nothing else to be done. The tract had to be made with a friendly hand. He was to have union labor, provided he employs members of the alliance, and as soon as he didn't employ them he was notified, and the labor was taken away. Of course it is natural, but those are the methods of the pure and simple trade unions. There cannot be any other methods. And it shows to you that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance hasn't found any other methods. The trouble is not with the pure and simple trade unions. The trouble is with the results. Mr. Berry was so childish as to think that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance could invent any new methods than the old pure and simple trade unions have had. Now he says that the social revolution will not come in the usual strong language of his party—before the pure and simple trade unions lie crawling in the dust. I don't know where he received this information as to the exact time and the conditions under which the social revolution will come. One thing is quite sure—that, if the social revolution will have to depend on the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance to make its appearance, we will have to wait an eternity!

The pure and simple trade unions embrace over a million of organized workmen. We have made, and are making, attempts among them to propagate the principles of socialism; and although we admit there are some organizations that so far are hostile to socialism (if there hadn't been we wouldn't have had this controversy), there are just as many of them that are open to reason. If you read the newspapers within the last few months, what will you find? The Federation of Labor, the State Federation, adopting a resolution endorsing socialism. The Missouri central body, of St. Louis, Missouri, has adopted a similar resolution; the New York central body has adopted a similar resolution, and so forth, and so forth in Philadelphia

a similar resolution, and you will find place after place adopting a similar resolution. Of course it is a slow process. Of course they wouldn't count in the trade unions, if they wanted to, especially as long as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance will be there.

The doors of the trade unions are open to us. They make use of our access to the trade unions. We can go there freely, and preach Socialism freely. We can meet organized workmen face to face. We can answer all their questions, but one. When they ask us, isn't that Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—that scab organization—created by Socialists? Then we blush. Then we have no answer. Outside that we have no trouble with the so called pure and simple unions. Our side has been increasing constantly. In the American Federation of Labor, from convention to convention the vote in favor of Socialism has been increasing, and it will be increasing in this, as well as in any other organization.

Now, I will not—although I have notes about Carey and Debs, and the other members of our party mentioned by my opponent—I will not waste my time on it now. I may have a chance later; but if not, I will stick to the subject. I want now, while my opponent has his last chance, to tell him that we will assume everything for granted that he has here in his valise—the records of five or six more fakirs. We will concede before hand that they are fakirs. Let him not waste his breath with them. He has the records of some more trade unions that are corrupt. We will concede that fact. Let him be so kind as to come out and say, at least, who are and what is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? I have come all the distance from New York, eager to hear something about that Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. I can't get a word out of him about it, except that this one is a fakir, and this one is a scoundrel, and so forth. But about the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, what is its strength, its location, its members, its existence, its word. Will he be so kind, at least, as to answer that? For if he doesn't, we will have to conclude that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance consists of half a dozen men, moguls, or that it exists in the fertile imagination of my friend, and nowhere else.

BERRY.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workers:

Yes, I have got a few more fakirs. And the remarks of my opponent on this platform put me in mind of a scene that I used to witness when I was a boy. I was born and grew up amidst the hills of the Granite State, and many a time have I fished in the brooks among her white hills. And many a time when I was fishing in those brooks I got out of bait, and when I was out of bait I would tip over a rock and get some of that insect life underneath it, to catch the little speckled trout with, and I remember how it would crawl all over itself in trying to get away from the sunshine. That is what Hilquit has been doing. He tells you about the three moguls, and then he goes to work and reads a statement of District Alliance 19, of which I am the organizer, and which I signed. Yes; we did do it! It was a pure and simple union it would have been overlooked, and it would have been put under cover. The rank and file would not have been told of it. But he calls attention to it there. In the beginning he had but three moguls in the Alliance, but he was charitable enough later on to admit there were six instead of three.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is what he wants to know so much about. I answered that in other words, but to settle his anxiety on that score I will answer it by saying I was about to answer it when the chairman called "time" on the other round. Does it consist of men of different political creeds? Yes. Is there a difference between it and the pure and simple organization? Yes, there is a difference, and the difference is this: that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance does not tell the working class, as does the pure and simple trade union, it does not tell the working class to go out and fight capital with capital. Like the steel workers, all the "capital" of the working class would be less than the amount of capital organized in the steel trust, to say nothing of the other capitalist trusts of this country. It teaches the working class how to fight intelligently. It teaches them that the strength of organization is in intelligence, and what is to be desired is the intelligence of its members and the solidarity of its class.

He makes a great hullabaloo about his party collecting funds. How about the money that was being subscribed for the sufferers of the Bull Pen in Idaho? They needed money so badly, after the famous Kangaroo "revolution,"—the needed it as badly as they ever needed anything, and the Kangs didn't turn it over until the Socialist Labor Party made such a noise about it that the Kangaroo Social Democratic Party coughed up the funds.

Now, again, they tell you about the Socialist Labor Party scabbing it. They said that same thing in the strike in the Sprague electric works. Here is the latest Kangaroo lie called! (Berry exhibits documentary evidence.) Here are the men who worked there, men who came out to swear to the truth of the assertion of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and to swear to the falsity of the other, the Kangaroo lie. Now, let me tell you, I am not like the chicken I wasn't born yesterday. And I have helped to build up two of the pure and simple unions of my craft. I am sorry to say that I helped to build the present Tobin organization, and if God will pardon me that crime against the working class, I fear nothing beyond the grave.

I didn't go into that organization, I didn't spend my life from 1881 until to-day in the trade union movement, in the pure and simple trade union movement, or in the Alliance movement, or in the Socialist Labor Party movement, because I was a lawyer. I was a workman. I was making wages in the shop, while Mr. Hilquit was making profits by making contracts. That is the difference between us. And our parties, that is the difference between the two, I have

fought the battles of my class on strike, and he has brought that class on strike that he might live on it, that he might profit by it. He knows very well that it is so, and he don't want me to tell anything about it. He stands in the position of the fellow that was accused of stealing hogs. His neighbor said, "Jones, you have been accused of stealing your neighbor's hogs. Why don't you debate that question with them, and show them that somebody else might have done it?" And Jones said to him, "I will debate the horse question, or the cow question, or the sheep question; but that hog question I will have nothing to say about!" It is the same right here.

I have got some questions I would like to ask Mr. Hilquit. I am going to ask him some questions that I have framed out of an article which appeared in a Jewish paper, the "Abend-Blatt." At the time when that article appeared Mr. Feigenbaum and Mr. Krantz (both of them to-day, I believe, are close personal friends of Mr. Hilquit, both of them at that time were friends of Mr. Hilquit). It isn't what I have said, and I have not brought out a thing here to-night where I took the proof from the Socialist Labor Party. I have taken up documents of the Social Democratic Party; I have taken the official ballot of Massachusetts; I have taken the official ballot of the town of Groveland; I have got facts that can be ascertained, and I give you my authority for the statements. Now, Mr. Hilquit at this time was a member or was concerned in drawing contracts for this organization, and I will raise those questions.

Do you remember if early in 1895 charges were preferred against some of the officials of this union?

Do you remember if early in 1895 charges were preferred against some of the officials of this union?

Is it not true that a committee of five, composed of M. Yauetkin (now a Kangaroo), S. Crystal (also a Kangaroo), A. Sharo (Kangaroo), Sam Frank, and N. Wolfman were elected to take testimony in that case?

Was the walking delegate of this union named Gluck?

Did not the officers and leaders of this union testify at that time that they had constantly received bribes from you, because they gave you the job of drawing up the contracts between the union and the employers?

Is it not true that because of the "graft" which you had on this union secured by bribery, you on one occasion presented the walking delegate Gluck with a valuable pin as a Christmas gift?

And is it not true that Gluck used to give orders to each of his "Lieutenants," on which they received from you small sums of money?

Is it not true that, a complete report of this investigation, signed by the committee, appeared in the "Abend-Blatt," at the time, in which both you and Gluck, were held up as rascals and fakirs? Was not that report true?

And if true, are you not a fakir and a rascal? Is it not true that at that time Krantz and Feigenbaum were the editors of the "Abend-Blatt," and that they were then, and are now, your close personal friends?

Is it not true that in the election of 1894, while you were a member of the Socialist Labor Party, you voted for the capitalist reform candidate Goff?

Mr. Hilquit, is it not true that for years your efforts have been directed in swindling operations perpetrated by you upon the working class, and in the majority of instances upon your own race?

Those are the questions that I ask you to answer.

HILQUIT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. To answer the last question—it is not true. I will say now that it is an absolute, unqualified lie. The answer to the question as to Mr. Berry's having been making wages while I was drawing contracts—I will say to Mr. Berry that I was a member of the Socialist Labor Party before Mr. Berry, and knew the term fakir. I will say that I had been active in the movement before Mr. Berry had any idea of the papers from which he could call his slang, and his teachings in the famous billingsgate.

Again, if Mr. Berry thinks that his comparison about the worms running away from the sunshine is a good one,—while I object somewhat to my playing the part of the worm,—as to Mr. Berry's being the sunshine!—I cannot submit to that under any circumstances.

I will ask you, gentlemen,—especially those who were clapping,—I will ask you to candidly answer, outside of everything else, did he make a single argument? Did he speak on the subject? Did he mention the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? Do you know what he means by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? Do you know what its policy is? Do you know what his party is? No! Do you say No? You are mistaken! You do know it! His party consists of about five hundred braggarts, every one of them like Mr. Berry. That is all! Absolutely nothing else!

If a man has the audacity to come before the public, and appear on a question which has been expressly treated by his opponent,—if he wants to become personal, and dig into the lowest grounds for something to talk about,—he is not worthy to share a platform with a Socialist speaker.

I had never met him before. I am sorry to have met him now. I did not know the gentleman, or you may be sure I would have declined to meet him here.

To return to our subject,—what is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance? What has it done for the labor movement? What interest has it? What benefit has it conferred upon the Socialist movement? He has not told you. He has not told you what benefit it has conferred on the labor movement. The conferred on the labor movement, since the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance have joined their influence to that party, has become a political insignificance, a farce! The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was an error, a mistake, in its conception, is a destructive in its workings, and is a complete failure in its results. And the Socialist Labor Party, owing to the tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, has been sinking rapidly from year to year, until last year it polled about one-third of its vote.

When another year passes, when two more years pass there will be no remnant of the Socialist Labor Party. And when the powers of the Socialist movement will be called upon to sit as corner upon the dead body, you may be sure that in his certificate of death he will state as the cause of the death of that Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance! It has killed it already! It has killed itself! And it is lucky for the working class, and lucky for Socialism in this country that it has accomplished both. The only great service that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has rendered to the working class was that it destroyed the Socialist Labor Party, and itself incidentally.

The debate then closed. Although he'd in a Social Democratic stronghold, the vote stood 55 for the S. L. P., and 81 for the S. D. P. There were over 300 persons present.

Trades & Societies' Directory.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee, representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

SECTION AKRON, OHIO, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday, at 2 p. m., at Kramer's Hall, 107 S. Howard St. Organizer, J. Koylin, 307 Barges st.

THE NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets 1st Thursday of the month, 8 p. m., at 78 Springfield ave., Newark. Cor. Sec. Louis Cohen, 10 Everett St., East Orange, N. J. Sec. A. P. Wittel, 60 Pesh-chine ave., Newark, N. J.

WATERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY." No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office 257 E. Houston St. Telephone call, 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m.

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 2 to 4 New Head street. Secretary K. Wallberg.

SECTION HARTFORD, S. L. P., meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., at S. L. P. Hall, 592 Main street.

S. T. & L. A. LOCAL NO. 307, meets second Thursday at above hall. Visitors are welcome.

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P. Branch 1, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of month at 10 o'clock, a. m., at 235 E. 38th street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist weekly, "Arbetaren."

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, Branch 2, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday of month, at 3 p. m., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., at Club rooms, southwest corner of 11th street and First avenue. Pool parlor open every evening.

LOCAL ALLIANCE, 282, of the S. T. & L. A. (Swedish Machinist), meets every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p. m., at Cosmopolitan Park, corner of Sixth avenue and Thirtieth street, Newark, N. J.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P., Headquarters and free reading room, 205½ South Main street. Public meetings every Sunday, 2 p. m., Foresters' Temple, 129½ W. First street, corner Spring.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every second and fourth Friday, 8 p. m., S. L. P. headquarters, 855 Grand avenue, Westville Branch meets every third Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors welcome.</

WEEKLY PEOPLE.

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In 1898..... 2,068
In 1899..... 21,157
In 1900..... 86,564
In 1901..... 34,191



The social revolution is bound to come. It will come either in the full panoply of law, and surrounded with all the blessings of peace, provided the peoples have the wisdom to take it by the hand and introduce it betimes,—or it may break in upon us unexpectedly amidst all the convulsions of violence, with wild disheveled locks, and shod in iron sandals. Come it must, in one way or the other. When I withdraw myself from the turmoil of the day and dive into history, I hear distinctly its approaching tread.

LASALLE.

THE S. T. & L. A. CONVENTION.

This week the sixth annual convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance meets in Providence, R. I. The birth and life of this body is one of the most significant features of the Labor Movement in America.

A superstition, and all the more difficult to eradicate because it was a superstition of old standing, was that an organization, the rank and file of which consisted of workmen, was said to be, and as such was to be venerated, as a workman's organization. So deep was this superstition rooted that glaring facts passed unnoticed. Tammany Hall, for instance, had, for every 1 capitalist vote 200 workmen supporters. It never occurred to anyone to declare Tammany Hall a workman's organization. The reason was plain. Workmen in Tammany Hall were, like workmen everywhere else, in factories and mines and shops, a majority, true enough, but not a dominant majority. They were there a dominated majority, to be exploited politically just as they were exploited economically by the same identical capitalist. This notwithstanding, the strict parallel between a Tammany Hall and the bulk of the Pure and Simple Trades Unions passed unnoticed. That, in point of fact, they were a dominated majority, escaped notice, the fact being concealed by the circumstance that the officers of the Pure and Simple Trades Unions, through whom, as lieutenants of the capitalist class, the rank and file was dominated, were or had been workmen. The superstition was akin to that other that, because the upper classes have better opportunities to develop intellectually, therefore every humdrum of the upper classes is an intellectual being. This is obviously false; and false likewise is the conclusion that because the emancipation of the workers must be their own feat, therefore every organization of workers is a class-conscious body established and run in the interest of the working class.

This unholy superstition made havoc in the cause of labor. The Pure and Simple Fakir-led Trades Union, demanded veneration on the score of its labor label; the popular superstition on that score long steeled the fakirs. Finally, an end came. The building up of the S. T. and L. A. marks the turning point. The superstition was made bold front against. The bull was taken by the horns, and the declaration was issued that the "Pure and Simple," "Harmony between Capital and Labor," "Identity of interests between employer and employee," in short, the fakir-led style of unionism is not a labor organization, but a wheel in the mechanism of capitalist society, a buffer for the capitalist class, an outpost of capitalism, and as such had to be overthrown.

Upon that rock the S. T. and L. A. raised its standard and holds to this day, proud of its accomplishment.

GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUE.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals does not enjoy a very good reputation. The instances are numerous of its agents using their mission of kindness for purposes of blackmail. Nevertheless, to give the Devil

his due, the Society has just contributed a good deal more than a mite to the obtaining of a correct picture of the capitalist class.

The occasion was the recent great Horse Show in this city. Agents of the Society found that, in numerous instances, the horses, that drew the magnificent equipages to the Show, had burrs placed in their bits—small spikes that pricked them and caused their manifestations of pain to appear as manifestations of spiritedness. The officers of the Society also found many of the horses harnessed with check-reins, two high—a common form of cruelty resorted to in order to make the horse hold his head high and look well in harness. It is not these findings that constitute the Society's mite in question. The findings are only the ground-work of the mite. Speaking on the subject, Superintendent Hennison said:

"I feel sure that the majority of the owners of the horses did not know that the burr was being used. On a certain occasion, when I called the attention of the owner to the unnatural position of his horse's head, due to its being reigned too high, he exclaimed, 'Why I had never noticed that!' That is an example of some of these so-called horsemen—OF WHAT THEY KNOW OF THE HORSES THEY HAVE DRIVEN FOR MONTHS AND YEARS."

Games are the reflex of occupations; those who indulge the former repeat there the habits acquired in the latter. The capitalist plumes himself upon being a "Captain of Industry"; how little he knows about the industries he "captains" is reflected by how little he knows about the horses he "runs." In his occupation as in his play, he is a fly on the wheel; and both at play and at "work," the charge of superintending is passed over by him to the crudest of slave-drivers, who, in order to win his favor, menial-like, pitilessly drive both his implements of pleasure—his horses in this instance—and his implements of toil—the Working Class.

All of which Socialism has established before, and toward which the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals now brings, unexpectedly, corroborative evidence.

A FABLE OR A TRAGEDY?

There is looming up above the Pittsburgh, Pa., horizon a new Labor force, or a new Labor tragedy. The switchmen asked for an increase of five cents an hour for day and night work. The demand was refused. Thereupon a strike was declared by the Switchmen's Union of North America. Forthwith, one of the stations, the B. & O. appeared in the capitalist panoply of 100 Pinkerton Detectives; the union station and approaches were placed under the protection of squads of police, armed with revolvers and bills; and a large contingent of non-union switchmen began to roll converging upon the seat of the trouble.

Is a farce at hand? Is a tragedy at hand?

The wages received by the men were 19 cents an hour for day work, and 20 for night work. The raise demanded, 5 cents for day work, 4 for night work, certainly is a trifle. It is but a trifle in itself; it is a trifle on a trifling wage; it is, above all a trifle, considering the risk to life and limb of the switchmen. But that is not all. Besides being for a trifle, the demand amounts to a trifling with the cause of the working class.

The beginning of this strike reads like a page from ancient history, without the slightest indication of any lesson having been learned from past, recent and similar occurrences.

Again the country is treated to the spectacle of workmen striking with their bare fists against the police's clubs, the Pinkerton's pistols and the potential bayonets of the militia, that these identical workmen have placed into the hands of these identical policemen, Pinkertons, militiamen; again workmen are seen striking against the inevitable results of the very capitalist system which they persist in upholding on election day; again workmen are seen too timid, because fakir-led, to dare demand and assert in manly, deliberate and firm fashion their full rights as workmen, yet venturesome enough in the prayer for a crumb. Is the issue likely to be, can it be fought other than the stale one of a fable, like the recent Steel Strike, or a tragedy like the switchmen's strike of Buffalo, or the present miners' strike in Kentucky?

The monotony of these farces and tragedies commences to pall; it cries to heavens for redress; but, like all redress, it can come only to those who help themselves. The rank and file of the switchmen, like they rank and file in all other trades, must look nearer home. Their real enemy is not the Company whom they fight against. That Company would not be there to fight, to-day, but for the labor fakir, the officers of the Union, the labor lieutenant of the companies, in short, the "Organized Scabbard." This scabbard crew must be fired out heels over head. It is they who treacherously lead the rank and file to regularly choose for its field of battle a field swept by the guns of the companies, and where labor must invariably either silyly surrender or tragically capitulate. It is that Organized Scabbard that treacherously

leads the rank and file away from the field of battle—the hustings—where the workers' guns—the class-conscious ballot of the Socialist Labor Party—would dominate the situation, and make an end of the power of all "Companies" to live upon the vitals of the workers.

The country wonders whether the Pittsburgh switchmen's strike is to be another farce or another tragedy; it also asks itself the question: Is it not about time the rank and file began to clean house and fired the traitors in its camp?

MOPPING THE OCEAN.

The real interesting scene that the approaching national convention of the A. F. of L. will present is one, the subject of which is taken least notice of by the public press. Questions of whether Gompers will be re-elected or not; whether he will come out on top in his quarrel with Schaffer or not; whether the "political plank" will create more ruction or not;—these and such like issues are being considerably debated in advance. They are all of no significance whatever. The significant issue is wholly different.

One trade after another, affiliated with the A. F. of L., is getting into one another's hair. The machinists and the combs have a fight on hand; the longshoremen have a fight with kindred trades; the miners have a fight with others engaged at the mines; etc., etc., and the brewers lead with a big fight of the same nature. What is it all about?

As capitalism develops, the lines that separate trade from trade wane. Cigar-makers can become trolley-men, trolley-men can become shoemakers, shoemakers can become typesetters, typesetters can become machinists, machinists can become miners, miners can become "helpers," helpers can become coopers, coopers can become brewers, etc., etc., with infinitely less difficulty than formerly, when the machine was less powerful, and consequently, skill was more requisite. As a result of this development, the individual trades organizations find it increasingly hard to control their own trades. If an idle cigarmaker can endanger a trolleyman's union, how much easier it is not for men of kindred trades to endanger one another's trades! Do the Pure and Simple leaders of the A. F. of L. understand this development? If they did they would realize that to attempt to control the trades by the old style of methods is like to attempt to mop back the ocean when the natural dams that held it back have been irreparably swept away. These leaders would understand that that ocean has to be handled upon a new plan. They would have to plant themselves squarely upon the Socialist Labor Party position and, unable any longer to stem the Ocean, ride it, control it by navigating it. Is that their policy. No!

The real feature of the next national convention will be the fights of these warring trades to control one another, the manoeuvres they will adopt in securing their point, the virulence that will manifest itself, and—the stupidity of the arguments, as all arguments must be that, ignoring facts, seek to mop back the engulfing Ocean.

WHO BUT HE, OR THEY?

Another awful catastrophe is placed on the long list of railroad catastrophes of the land. Two trains ran into each other near Seneca, Mich., with a heavy loss of life.

Who is to blame? The Railroad Company? No, indeed! Aboard of the news of the disaster, the information comes that the blame lies with the engineer or other employees.

Of course, who but he or they? Does the Company superintend anything except conspiracies against the minor stockholders? Does it run anything except the State and local legislative offices to aid it in its work of brigandage? Does it work at anything else except directing the reports of the Interstate Commerce Committee so as to suppress information on the wholesale slaughter of the railroad employees? Does it exert itself in any way directly connected with the operation of its lines? Why, bless your heart, No! The point has been judicially established long ago; now nearly nine years ago, when Judge Van Brunt of the Supreme Court of this State quashed an indictment against Chauncey M. Depew and the rest of the Board of Directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, charging them with responsibility for the death of half a dozen people in their tunnel. The learned Judge stated there and then that there was no evidence of these Directors having been aware of the cause of the accident, and, taking a whole page from Socialist doctrine, he declared that it was not the Directors who run the road but the employees. These being the ones who run the road, the ones who operate it, is it not obviously wrong to saddle responsibility upon the Directors? Is it not downright wicked to charge the Directors with a knowledge they are as guiltless of as the unborn babe? Of course! And this being thus the Directors of the Wabash Railroad should not now be held responsible for the

Seneca tragedy.

It is true that certain conclusions follow from their acquittal of all blame. There are those who, reasoning backward, may conclude that, seeing they are not to blame, they do not work; and seeing they do not work, neither should they draw revenue from such roads. But such conclusions will occur only to the pestiferous Socialist, to the un-American Socialist, to the un-patriotic Socialist, to the un-Christian Socialist—in short, to the no-good Socialist. All other good people, truly patriotic, truly Christian and truly American will fail to see any connection between work and enjoying the fruits of work.

Peace to the bones of the victims!

There is a strong protest in Erie, Pennsylvania, because John Kane, a foreman, who shot and killed William Harrison, a striker, has been acquitted. The contention was that Kane acted in self-defence. This is denied by practically everyone who knows anything of the case. Even the murderer admitted what would be looked upon, under ordinary circumstances, as murder in the second degree. But he was backed and defended by the capitalist class. Courts are capitalist institutions, and it did not take this particular court long to see what it should do. Then it did it. The workmen of Erie, if they want redress, can only get it by putting the Socialist Labor Party in power.

The machinists are thankful because they lost their strike this year. The steel workers are thankful because they lost their strike. The mill hands in Massachusetts are thankful because their wages have been cut down. The miners of West Virginia and Kentucky are thankful because of the drubbing that has been administered to them. The cigarmakers of New York are thankful because they lost their strike. The Waterfront Association of San Francisco are thankful because they have been beaten and clubbed. The working class of Philadelphia, Paterson, Detroit, Teluride are thankful for the fires and explosions that cut short the lives of hundreds of their members. The street car workers of Albany are thankful for the militia that, thou, east, has so kindly condescended to give to thy servants. And we all are thankful for the many injunctions, reductions in wages, cases of starvation, etc., which, in thy great design, the capitalist class has inflicted upon us. Amen.

An Indiana woman has sent President Roosevelt a lemon weighing three pounds. Now if a Southern person would send him some sugar, and a Kentucky person send him the soul of rye, and a neighbor in Washington send him some hot water, the President would soon be in shape to write another record breaking message to Congress.

The Central Railroad of New Jersey, at the request of the United States Express Company, has issued an order, that during the trip across the river the drivers are not to seek the warmth of the cabins. The railroad has applied the order to all vehicle drivers. The excuse made is that the passengers are disturbed by the loud and profane language of the drivers. The drivers are as a rule a quiet lot, who usually seek their receipts. The fact of the matter is that the companies want the men to sit out in the cold and watch the goods in the wagons. Hence the order.

The defeat of Mr. McGovern, when he was in the height of his ability, is another of those lessons sometimes furnished to how we are assigned by nature to certain stations in life. Many papers, the "World" in particular, have pointed to Mr. McGovern as an ideal young man who was in the plenitude of his power. But at one fell swoop and a well-delivered body blow, Mr. McGovern lost all he had gained. Now that it has been demonstrated that there are better, the only thing he can do is to join that vast army of orators who have ability to tell all about fighting, but who could not beat a carpet, although they still have ability to beat a board bill.

A theory has been advanced that the Maine hunters have been purposely negligent in the matter of looking out for prowling sportsmen from other states, the claim being that the local nimrods are desirous of scaring all others out.

Mrs. Eddy the leader of the Christian Scientists has given her sanction to the vaccination of her dupes. "Rather than quarrel over being vaccinated," says the High Priestess, "I recommend that, if the law demand an individual to submit to this process, he obey the law, and then appeal to the Gospel to save him from any bad results."

Mrs. Eddy has found that it "pays" to keep on the right side of the law.

Still the labor fakirs beg for jobs. They get on their knees to supplicate for the political crumbs that fall from a rich party's table. Before the election they were divided in their support of Low and Shepard. Now they are united in their appreciation of Low and what he can do for them. This is what is known in Organized Scabbard as the "solidarity of labor."

American locomotives are now being exported to France. We can feed the world, supply it with machinery, and give the pauper labor of Europe a series of industrial black eyes. For all that the unemployed is still a "problem." It would not be if the American workmen were to take the solution of it themselves, and throw out the incompetent capitalist class.

Political and Economic.

The Brooklyn "Standard Union" is learning from experience. In the fall of the year it yielded to Kangaroo inspirations and its own interests, and came out with a lying article against the Socialist Labor Party and the DAILY PEOPLE, retelling a series of yarns connecting

them with Czolgoz. For this action it was brought up with a sharp turn by the S.L.P. with a suit for libel. With this experience back of it, the "Standard Union" has become more cautious. It now echoes the following delirium tremens romance, in the following slipshod style:

"The annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will be held in Providence, R. I., commencing Monday, December 2. One of the subjects expected to become a matter of strong and warm debate will be what form the constitution of the Alliance shall take, whether it shall be complete autonomy of centralized autocracy like the constitution of the Knights of Labor. There is a big split in the ranks of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance resulting from some of its very active members being expelled by the Socialist Labor Party because they were strong opponents of men who have kept themselves prominent for years in its policy and control. It is said the men expelled from the Socialist Labor Party will be delegates to the convention, where it is also reported they intend to raise ructions on account of their expulsion. There are members of the Socialist Labor Party who claim that for lively fighting and indiscriminate suspension and expulsion the Socialist Labor Party is unrivaled in the United States."

It goes without saying that, with one single exception, the above is pure romance. The only exception is the message that the S. L. P. is a fighting body unrivaled in the United States. Of that the "Standard Union" has personal experience, and need not take second-hand opinion.

The Jersey City "Journal" is delighted and surprised to find that the Socialist Labor Party is soon doomed to extinction, first because it has lost some votes in Jersey, and because it ran a minister for governor last campaign. The conclusions and the observations of the "Journal" arouse our curiosity. There was a slight loss as far as votes are concerned, but the minister puzzles. From 1900 to 1901 there was a loss to the S. L. P. of 156 votes. Then there was the Socialist Democracy, which did have a minister as its candidate, and during the same time it lost 1120 votes. The "Journal" therefore takes the name of the Socialist Labor Party and tries to hitch the candidate and the loss of the Social Democracy, alias Socialist Party to it. The game is too old and stale to succeed. It should try again.

The "Sun" refers to the Harvard students who created a riot in Boston, who robbed and insulted men and women, and who destroyed thousands of dollars worth of property as being in "high spirits." It refers to men who go out on strike as "thugs" and "assassins." The reason for this is that the "Sun" is strictly class conscious. It knows its side every time. As a capitalist paper is consistently defends its side. Were the members of the working class half as consistent the present anarchy in society could not endure six months.

The "Appeal to Reason" had two great ideals, New Zealand and the post office. Both were examples of "Socialism." The former turned out to be an advanced capitalist country where the worker is skinned as closely as elsewhere. The latter has threatened to take the second class mail permit away from the "Appeal." That paper will be forced to skimp around to get some other thing to keep its dupes hustling.

The "Cleveland Citizen," a Kangaroo paper, is much worked up over the high-handed methods of Third-Assistant Postmaster Madden, who has been cutting right and left into the second class mail permits of many papers. But the "Citizen," as usual, punches its own face. It says that Madden is a "fakir," and is a graduate of that pure and simple trade union that has no rival, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The "Citizen" stands for and gives support to such "unions,"—notably the Typographical Union, which practises the check-off system,—and it sputters like a barroom loafer when the crimes of the pure and simple unions are exposed. The "Citizen" instances as a meritorious publication that was suppressed, "The Farmers' Advocate," a Populist paper.

This is called a "power for reform," and is held up as being one of the best principles printed. This defense of its principles places the "Citizen" on par with it. What becomes of the "uncompromising, socialist principles" of which the "Citizen" is proud to boast so loudly, in the style of the donkey with the lion's skin?

The "Nebraska Independent," Populist, admits that the only hope for Populism is in the Democratic party. As the Populist party is very much "in" the Democratic party, its hope is realized. The question now arises, in what party rests the hope of the Democratic party?

The quick ending of the recent railroad strikes show that the roads have pretty fair protection in all directions. They knew enough to get under the protection of the United States authority, and when there no strike can be won by the workers. The lesson to workingmen is obvious. Get into control of the government, and protect yourselves.

CHANGED NAME TO GET WORK.

Too Many "Sens" Bothered Merchants, So Olsen Became Granbeck.

Reynard Nels Olsen, twenty years old, has taken a new name in order to hold a new position. Olsen lives at No. 145 Summit street, Brooklyn, and sought employment recently in a mercantile house. His appearance suited the merchants, and everything went well until he was asked his name.

"Another 'sens,'" was the answer. "We have too many 'sens' in the office—Jansen, Nielsen, Petersen, Bjornsen. They get us all mixed up."

"I'll get another name," returned the applicant quickly. "My mother's maiden name was Granbeck. Put me down as Granbeck."

He was employed under that name, and Judge Hurd, of the County Court, Brooklyn, has signed an order giving him the legal right to sign himself Reynard Nels Olsen Granbeck.

PAYING A DIRT-CHEAP PRICE.

If, in the matter of Chinese exclusion coming events are foretold by the shadows cast before them, a more stringent anti-Chinese enactment will soon be the dead letter that the present statutory provisions excluding the Chinese are. With very few exceptions in the Senate and the House, from the President down the sentiment is echoed in chorus that the Chinese exclusion law, about to expire, shall be re-enacted with such improvements and additions as shall "render the law more difficult of evasion" than at present. What makes the prospect of such a prospective dead-letter all the surer is the reason given therefor, to wit, the "universal demand of 'Organized Labor.'"

Why should not the capitalist political officials yield to this demand? Their yielding amounts to paying a dirt cheap price in exchange for being kept in possession of the political guns of Capitalism. Looked at closer, the price is worse than dirt cheap: it is an exchange of a sackful of "green goods" or sawdust for a pocket-bookful of greenbacks.

Racial antipathies and the like, "American superiority," and the like, are all but surface objections raised by the Working Class against the Chinaman. The real objection is that the Chinaman, accustomed to a lower standard of living, underbids the American in the Labor Market. In order to live, the latter, forced to compete with the Mongolian, must submit to lower earnings. This is another way of saying that the American wage-slave is compelled to yield to the American wage-slave-holder, the capitalist, a larger share than he is now forced to yield of the product of his own labor. And, in turn, this is another way of saying that the American capitalist has every interest on earth to allow the Mongolian in. It explains why the present anti-Chinese law is a dead-letter: The class, whose interests are assailed by the anti-Chinese law, being the very class that has all along been entrusted with its enforcement, saw to it that the law was circumvented.

These are conclusions that cannot be run away from, and they stand upon facts that cannot be successfully gained. Now, then, planting oneself upon this solid ground, what flows inevitably therefrom?

1. Anti-Chinese laws are not simply laws against the Chinese. The term "Anti-Chinese Laws" is a generic term: it covers a multitude of other things: it embraces all Legislative, Judicial and Executive action that makes in favor of the Working Class, and, accordingly, that makes against the Capitalist Class. It covers factory legislation, protecting the life and limb of the workers; it covers minimum wage scales; it covers automatic coupler projects; it covers the conduct of troops, Federal and militia, in cases of strikes; it covers the freedom of labor organization and of executing the resolutions it passes in its own interest; it covers screen-laws, anti-truck systems, etc., among miners; and so down the interminable list;

2. The Capitalist Class is bound to be against all such laws;

3. If, compelled by any exigency—and it can be so compelled only by transitory exigencies—to yield any of these points and to carry out the provisions thus wrenched from its hands, it will unquestionably recoup itself by greater negligence in the enforcement of all the others, and by greater severity in its grinding of the workers;

4. In order thus to be recompensed, the Capitalist Class must be placed in possession of the Public Powers; unless so placed, it never could recoup itself; it would even be assailed from all other sides, and go down;

5. It is a life and death question with the Capitalist Class to be placed in possession of the Public Powers; and

6. It is a dirt cheap price, ay, it is the handing over of a sackful of "green goods" or sawdust—a law to exclude the Chinese—in payment or in exchange for the pocketful of labor votes that shall place the Public Powers in the keeping of the Capitalist Class.

There can be no question of a genuine "Anti-Chinese Legislation" so long as the Working Class can be green-goodsed or sawdust-gamed.

BRITISH WORKMEN BLAMED.

English Commercial Agent Says They Are Responsible for Trade Reverses.

London, Nov. 28.—Sixteen reporters and six British business men gathered this afternoon, in response to the London Chamber of Commerce's general invitation, to hear Seymour Bell, commercial agent of Great Britain in the United States, expound his views on American trade competition. He said that what America wanted from abroad was daily getting smaller, but that Great Britain was being cut out of even this small portion of the market by France and Germany.

Mr. Bell attributed this to Great Britain's backwardness in using labor-saving and automatic machinery. He declared the working classes of Great Britain must be educated up to them and be convinced that their use is essential before Great Britain could compete with America.

Mr. Bell also said there was no doubt that the reciprocity movement in the United States would result in the removal or reduction of many of the duties now enforced. But it would be in the case of articles in which the United States was quite safe from foreign competition.

He said there was a growing need for tea and Scotch whiskey in the United States. The statement disclosed the fact that the India and Ceylon tea merchants had entered into a pooling arrangement to promote the sale of their brands in the United States.

All members and sympathizers of the S.L.P. and S. T. & L. A., as well as all readers of the Party organs, are hereby informed that the Fair of D. A. 15, S. T. & L. A., will commence Wednesday, December 18th, and close December 25th, 1901, and that all donations will be thankfully received and should be sent as early as possible to the Secretary, Wm. J. Eberle, No. 111 Market street, Pittsburg, Pa.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN—I see the Socialist vote in the United States was something like 40,000 this year. Is that all?

UNCLE SAM—That is all!

B. J.—Now, that does surprise me.

U. S.—You think it too big or too small?

B. J.—Too big? No. Too small!

U. S.—What surprises me is that, taking everything into consideration, it should so soon be as large as that.

B. J.—It strikes me just the other way. Taking everything into consideration, I should think it ought to be much larger by this time.

U. S.—I'd like to hear one of the considerations that makes you think so.

B. J.—I'll give you one, and that the principal one. Almost everywhere I go and talk about Socialism I meet people who say they are also Socialists.

Now, then, judging by that, if one-half of them voted the Socialist Labor Party ticket the vote ought to be 400,000 at least.

U. S.—There is where you err.

B. J.—I do?

U. S.—Yes. What you consider a source of strength is just now a source of weakness.

B. J.—Weakness?

U. S.—Yes; weakness. When men who are not Socialists say they are, even if they mean to tell the truth, they retard the growth of the Socialist pool.

B. J.—But all those I have met I know ARE Socialists.

U. S.—How do you know?

B. J.—They all want the Co-operative Commonwealth.

U. S.—It that enough for one to look upon them as Socialists?

B. J.—What more do you want?

U. S.—A good deal more.

B. J.—You are unreasonable!

U. S.—You see here. To-day in sight of the widespread suffering that exists; in sight of the experience of those who still have some little property left that is bound to be swallowed up by the big sharks; in sight of the object-lessons in co-operation that concentrated capital is holding up before the people's eyes; in sight of all this, to meet a man who does not admit that the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth is a haven of refuge, is inevitable and is desirable is to meet either an idiot or a rascal; or a capitalist, which is a combination of both idiot and rascal. Every intelligent man must favor the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth and every decent man is ready to say so.

B. J.—Very well; that only goes to make my point all the stronger.

U. S.—Not a bit of it. You overlook an important fact. When a great social change is to come about, the first thing is to have the necessity of its coming about made generally understood.

B. J.—That's all right.

U. S.—The first thing is to get the masses to realize that it is the right thing.

B. J.—Yes and we have reached that point with regard to Socialism, as you admit yourself.

U. S.—But when that point has been reached it loses its importance, and another point rises into primary importance. That point is: "How to bring about that change?"

B. J.—Ha!

U. S.—When this stage is reached it does no longer matter very much whether or not a man is fully in accord with the ultimate aims of the movement; the question of real importance is: "Does he adopt the right methods; does he join the organization whose experience renders it the only safe one to go by, or does he not?"

B. J.—Yes; Yes.

U. S.—To-day, as I stated before, all intelligent and decent men, certainly millions upon millions of our people, are agreed upon the ultimate aims of Socialism and wish to reach it, but they are not yet clear as to its methods. They don't yet know how to get there. They still have palliative bees buzzing in their nozzles; they still follow the will-o'-the-wisp delusion of "One Thing at a Time." In short they still believe that the Socialist Labor Party is too unnecessarily radical.

B. J.—I begin to catch on.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

The "Rickey Special" Is Also a Forgery.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—I have just read the document said to be issued by the Executive Board, N. T. A. G. I was a member of the board until the charter was revoked on Nov. 24, 1901. I attended every meeting of the Executive Board. This article never was read before the Board. I did not sign it and did not know my own name was attached to it until I saw it in print. I understood a complete history of the strike was to be written up and sent to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. and to the locals of the Alliance. I thought locals No. 282 and 264 were expelled in the wrong, and thought it would be explained to the members of the Alliance. I did not suppose it was to be an attack on the Party. I repudiate the whole article as written.

RICHARD W. GAFFNEY.
Yonkers, Nov. 28, 1901.

That "Unhappy Scotch Current" in England.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Enclosed is a letter that I have received from an active comrade here in England. The letter will more completely show than a long essay what is going on here in the line of the "unhappy Scotch current" which THE PEOPLE has incited, and which is the first promise seen here for a long time that we too in Great Britain shall enjoy a bona fide Socialist and Labor Movement as America does through the Fighting S.L.P.

The letter contains many private matters. You may publish it, leaving all such private affairs out.

C.
London, Eng., Nov. 7.

[Enclosure.]
Sept. 30, 1901.

I am doubly thankful for your note which arrives just at the proper moment. I was aware that Leslie had lent himself as a spy, but was hardly prepared for so sudden action by the "government." I see they had arranged a coup-d'etat for us, because Quetch is to be in Scotland on the 13th of October. I tell you straight they will be more like "fat heads" than bull-heads before we are finished.

Do you know the latest? The boys in Edinburgh last Thursday night expelled Robert Allan! D. Mathie and J. Grievie (all fakirs, and low down at that), for supporting Smillie. Leslie, knowing his letter was to appear came near as possible getting the same dose. In fact he is hanging on by his skin at present, for they are determined to begin the leveling process from our end of the stick. Edinburgh, Leith, Falkirk and Glasgow all are to send in resolutions demanding his blood. Where the blazes is Leslie going to get his "level heads"? It's a fine word, I am damned if I know. The weak-kneed men won't have him because of his morality, or the lack of it, and the straight boys are pulling him across the moor every time he shows up. This last night he has had the roughest handling he ever got in the party, and all right that the all-wise "government" have selected this man above all others to fire the fighters out of the party. You can bet all the firing will come from our side of the trench.

There is another card that will make them sit up. The S. D. C. is being pushed to issue immediately that long-delayed manifesto, cutting out the straight path. It was decided at the last meeting to submit it to the "Centre"—fancy that. They will get it in the neck. Of course, if we come down, we come down crash, but I fancy Danton's method, "tousjours de l'audace" holds good in war, and especially with such vipers as they have shown themselves to be. I believe as you say, "the first blow well given is best and goes furthest." The B. D. F. in Glasgow contemplates to start an agency of the New York Labor News Co. If we succeed, we'll flood the party with the "scandalous rag," THE PEOPLE, and the S. L. P. literature. I fancy that will do a considerable amount of good.

The "Intellectuals" had a dinner at the Centre on Wednesday. All the real "government" was there, and what do you think they discussed? The opening up of Fusion with the I. L. P. I rather think they are playing into our hands with a rash. Among the guests at the dinner were Blatchford, Krapetkin, Tillet, Mann, Hyndman, Quetch, Watts, and a board of satellites. It was unanimously agreed (over the whiskey) that Kier Hardy was the only man at blocked the way to fusion. God bless him for it, say I. However, everything points to our having a happy time in the near future.

The Congress, as you may have deduced from the jottings in "Justice" since, was OUR Congress. And though Comrade Yates spoke for half-hours at a time, and the delegates listened, finally Quetch gives him ONE line of report. The delegates knew absolutely nothing about the Socialist movement outside of their own respective dung-hills. They were all full up to neck with "Municipal Lodgings for the people," and things of similar type. Quetch played the lowest game he ever played in fighting Yates. He forgot, or wanted to forget all Yates' arguments, and went for him head-on as "an emissary of THE PEOPLE." He dragged it in by the hair of the head on every occasion. But THE PEOPLE is a lively corpse, and the 17 votes that Yates got are the beginning of the end of his government. Headingley and Burrows and Watts all tried their hand on Yates, and as he is rather light-looking, it looked easy. But you can take it from me Yates had his trials fare out of that lot. Headingley, to see that the minds of the boys in Glasgow be "not poisoned" was there three weeks, and I am told he just left. He came, he saw, he conquered, and he got something to remember his visit by, both in Glasgow and in Edinburgh. So now Quetch has been ordered "to the scene." Don't think there will be any

supporters to cheer his heart, outside of a few of the "elite genosens." From OUR point of view, the Congress was a great improvement on many a preceding one. We have started the hare very well, I fancy.

X. X. X.

"Down the Steep" in San Francisco.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Under the heading, "Down the Steep," in the Nov. 17 edition of the DAILY PEOPLE, the Kangaroo vote, in this city is given at "about 500." The reporter must have quoted from the published incomplete returns, by mistake I presume. The complete returns double that figure. The article, however, is not invalidated by the error. The Kangabes have "gone down the steep" and "they are at the bottom." And they deserve it.

This anomalous coterie knew that Section San Francisco, S. L. P., had been in existence for about ten years; that during that time it has never been out of existence or changed its name; it therefore knew that we, and we alone, were entitled to the word Socialist, as a political designation.

The law of this State forbids any political party to use any portion of the name of another political party, yet they changed their name to "Socialist Party" and, by means of their City Hall influence, deprived us of our right to go on the official ballot in our own time-honored name. They have got what they deserved. They have lost their own place on the ballot, and must get signatures at the next municipal election. They must also get signatures at the State election, which comes on right away.

They had an election commissioner and a subordinate at the City Hall, they had district clubs; they had a millionaire comrade and they had a weekly journal, published right here; we had not these aids, yet they were afraid to give us an honest chance. It will come home to them. Already, in Union Labor quarters, we hear it claimed that Oliver Everett, the Kangaroo office-holder by the grace of a capitalist mayor, has no right to his seat on the election commission; that it belongs to the third political party, which is now the Union Labor Party.

JOHN ROBERTSON.
San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 23.

The Buzz-Saw in Winona, Minn.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Friday, Nov. 22d we had with us Comrade Veal, who addressed at Druid's Hall an interested and appreciative audience. Comrade Gernes, in introducing the speaker said:

"The Socialist Labor Party was organized to educate its members, and through its members their fellow workmen and all other honest citizens in the science of political economy taught by the S. L. P., which is the only true economics for society. We hold, that knowledge is power, and our war cry is education."

After the speech the floor was thrown open for questions. It seems the powers that be are beginning to realize that the S. L. P. has come to stay, and its war cry is education, as our meeting was honored with the presence of several professors from the high and public school. One of these began the bombardment with questions, and in fact asked the bulk of them, which lasted over an hour. It seemed good to see and hear the proletarian speaker answer the gentlemen of profession in the decisive S. L. P. manner.

It appears the professors were in doubt whether our movement was a reform or revolutionary one; but they were soon enlightened that reforms are simply reactionary movements, and the S. L. P. a revolutionary party; that the Republican party is the stationary, the Democratic and reform parties the reactionary, and the S. L. P. the progressive party and, therefore, was bound to win out. A few fakirs were also present who received their thrashing without whimpering. They never uttered a sound.

M. A. GOLTZ.
Winona, Minn., Nov. 24.

The Right Spirit.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Every S. L. P. man should feel encouraged at the election returns. Every thing shows that the S. L. P. is stronger than ever, and when the party of Revs. without churches, Drs. without patients, and lawyers without clients—the Kangaroo—goes the way of the Greenback and Populist Parties into that political oblivion, from which there is no returning, then will the S. L. P. vote grow beyond our most sanguine expectations. We will then get all the honest Socialists' votes, the others we are better off without, and then will be shown the wisdom of the course the S. L. P. has taken during the last two years. No compromise!

Vinyard Haven, Mass., Nov. 25.

E. T. WALKER.

A Plan from Duluth.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—I have been instructed to inform the party members and sympathizers, through the columns of THE PEOPLE, of an undertaking Section Duluth is about to launch, with the hope that it may serve to suggest a similar plan to other sections.

We have decided to buy a small hand or foot-power printing press, size about 8x13, with all the necessary accompanying paraphernalia, for the purpose of printing all our entertainment tickets, doggers, election cards, lecture course cards, throwaways, etc.

One of the comrades has offered a room in his house to serve as the "printing office," where the comrades can meet in the evenings and learn the art of composing and printing. Of course the labor will be one not of pay, but of love for a grand cause.

The field of possibilities that this venture opens, will at once be apparent to all. Last year Section Duluth expended for printing alone, the sum of \$45.00, which, if we had a press, could have been saved. Aside from this, a monthly minor journal could be printed. A Post Office permit secured, and the copies sent through the mails at per pound postage. With the aid of a city directory, or a poll list, thousands of workmen could be reached at a nominal cost, instead of as now, comrades tramping up and down hills, through dark alleys at night, in the rain or snow, delivering literature. The little paper

could be made a bright, newsy, instructive thing, and be an excellent medium for advertising the Labor News Co.'s books, and most important of all—the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE. Furthermore, if the legitimate combination—the capitalist class, labor fakirs, and Kangaroo fake Socialists circulate a new lie, we can at once hustle out a printed rebuttal, thus nail them as fast as they can lie, and the expense would be what the paper costs. From this rapid sketch it will be seen that the scheme is O. K. We have written a certain press factory in Mass., that make a specialty of private printing outfits, and have a \$100.00 proposition for the one we have in view. To raise the required sum we propose soliciting loans of 50 cents upwards from comrades, but only from those who think they can spare the amount aside from their regular donations to THE PEOPLE—for in no way do we wish to usurp that paper's field in this respect. Rather a hundred Section printing plants go to Hades, than have anything block the success of that living testimonial of what the S. L. P. has accomplished—a signpost of that to follow. For each loan, we will give a voucher, or receipt, redeemable when possible; in all probability, not later than a year. Members of Section Duluth have loaned \$65.00 already. We are desirous of operating our press before Jan. 1, to save cost of printing during the approaching February election.

Our plan is, however, to charge up the Section with this printing, and all that will thereafter follow, just as if done by a private concern, apply the monies to redeeming the vouchers, when the outfit will eventually revert back to the Section.

Therefore if there are any comrades who feel overburdened by what they have saved from their princely wages, and wish to see us successful in this venture, kindly communicate with the undersigned: perchance, some day we can return similar assistance. Particularly, would I call the attention of Minnesota comrades to this.

With S. L. P. greetings,
LOUIS F. DWORSHAK.
105 W. Superior St.
Secretary.

By order, Section Duluth.
Duluth, Minn., Nov. 24th, 1901.

He Voted For Goff in '04.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Mr. Morris Hilquit, Kangaroo, Social Democrat, lives in the Tenth Election District of the Thirty-first Assembly District. His home address is 84 West 115th street. In that district there is not a single vote cast for Benjamin Hanford, candidate for Mayor on the Social Democratic ticket. Mr. Hilquit must have cast none.

Evidently the tricks he learned in Goff's time have stuck to him.

WATCH-OUT.
New York, Nov. 26.

Intolerant S. L. P.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—One of the humorous events of the late campaign here in Syracuse, was the desire of one of our members to get a job from the Mayor-elect J. B. Kline, Republican. In order to impress Mr. Kline it was necessary for him to declare openly that Mr. Kline was a good man; that he was just the kind of a man a true Socialist would vote for.

Perhaps a little explanation as to who and what this member is, would be in order. His name is, Leo Kulas. He is a mason contractor on the small cockroach scale, and business is very poor about this time of the year. He has only been a member of the Section of the S. L. P. a few months. So he thought by coming out for J. B. Kline, he would get Kline to give him the job that Judas Pellenas has. He started operations on the Sunday before election in the Section headquarters saying he would vote for Kline the Republican candidate for Mayor. He said this in the presence of two other Party members, who reported his talk to Organizer Crimmins, who in turn, preferred charges against Kulas. The charges were referred to the Grievance Committee: who no doubt will recommend his expulsion at the next Section meeting. Kulas knows nothing about Socialism or the S. L. P. He has never been active in the Party's affairs, but being a business man he thought he had great influence. So it he could only start a local newspaper controversy with the Socialist Labor Party he would get the prestige that he wanted to secure the Fire Marshalship under Kline. The Grievance Committee had a meeting and sent Kulas a copy of the charges and notified him to appear at headquarters Sunday, Nov. 24th for trial. Here was Kulas' grand opportunity, the only chance of a life time. He could not let this slip. Pellenas must get out. Kulas could see that \$1,800 coming his way very fast. So on receipt of the charges and notice from the Section, he puts on his coat and hat and catches the fast "Empire State" street car down Bulfinch street pell-mell to get to the office of the "Post-Standard." There he relieved himself of his troubles with the intolerant S. L. P., and he could tell Mr. Kline in the columns of the "Post-Standard," how he loved him. He also made his bid for the fire marshalship in this manner, after admitting he had voted for Kline:

"Take the Fire Marshal for instance, a man that has been infaming the workers' minds for years, telling them how ignorant they are. The Fire Marshalship requires a competent man as inspector of plumbing. In some other cities the inspector is required to go through the building once every week. All I can say is that I saw the Fire Marshal but once this year. That was in the True Daisy Supply building." The funny way Kulas puts his foot in his mouth is amusing. He says the Fire Marshal must be a competent inspector of plumbing. But he is a stone mason, and don't know anything about plumbing. But there is no danger of Leo Kulas getting into a newspaper controversy with the S. L. P., because the matter is in charge of the Grievance Committee and will not get out until the Section meeting on December 7th. Nor will poor Kulas get the job of Fire Marshal because when the Republican Committee gave Kulas \$5 to come up from Fulton, N. Y., to vote for Kline, they knew they

paid all the vote was worth, besides there are too many Republicans looking for the job at Kline's disposal.

So Kulas gets left all around, he had better go way back and sit down and wait for another chance.

JAMES TRAINOR.
Syracuse, Nov. 26.

Weeping Jeems Wanted.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The Leathers Workers, who are organized into the S. T. and L. A. have been out on strike for four weeks. A few days ago the manufacturers sent a messenger to the strikers requesting them to elect a committee to meet them in conference and endeavor to settle the strike. A mass meeting of Glaziers' Union L. A. 289 and Stakers and Beamsters, L. A. 352 was held and a committee of six were elected with instructions as to what their demands were.

The committee met the manufacturers and fought hard for two days to have the bosses accede to the demands of the men. The bosses refused to grant one demand and only presented a damnable document for the men to sign.

The committee refused point blank to sign the document and returned to a meeting of the strikers to ask their opinion of it.

They voted to a man not to sign the document and have strengthened their pickets around the Thomas A. Kelley factory.

Kelley has 46,000 skins in stock (including his own) which means a loss to him of over \$100,000 if he does not settle with the men by next Thursday. We do not think we will be obliged to appeal for funds. But if we do, we expect the comrades of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. throughout the country to come to our aid and assist us as far as they possibly can.

Comrade Berry addressed a large mass meeting of Leather Workers. They were very much pleased with the address; it has caused many of them to think.

Comrade Joseph F. Malloney spoke before a meeting of S. A. 352 a week before the strike was declared.

That Comrade Malloney took well with them goes without saying. Many of them are anxious to hear him again.

District Alliance 19, at its meeting last Sunday voted to try and secure Comrade De Leon to come to Lynn for the S. T. and L. A. convention. We sincerely hope that Comrade De Leon will be able to come to Lynn and contribute his share by giving an address on the S. T. and L. A. This strike has caused the other wage-slaves to ask: "What kind of an organization is this S. T. and L. A.?" That this is a fighting organization is shown by the determined fight they are putting up in Lynn. D. A. 19 elected Comrade Oldham of S. A. 287 to act as the representative of the D. A. to act in conjunction with the committee elected by S. A. 289 and 352 to take charge of the strike.

Will write full particulars later. Kelley has been unable to procure one scab.

Francis A. Walsh.
Lynn, Mass., Nov. 23.

Very Good, Indeed!

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—The article published in the DAILY PEOPLE of the 20th instant in regard to the "Kangaroo show" stated that the "Volkszeitung" announced that 100,000 tickets had been sold. And it also stated that "now it says only 70,000 were printed."

Now then, how is it possible to sell 100,000 tickets, when only 70,000 were printed? That is a question which only a kangaroo can answer.

Being greatly amused when I read that article, I thought I would give you some interesting information in regard to the way they "sold" their 100,000 tickets.

On the 12th instant, one of the "finishers" in the assembling department of the "Mergenthaler Linotype Company" received an envelope containing 60 tickets, for the "Kangaroo show," which he distributed all over the department. After he had distributed the tickets one of the testers thought he would play a joke on him, so he went to work and set up a bill head and made out a bill for the tickets of \$15.25. He then put the bill into an envelope and directed it to the head finisher. Upon receipt of which, he went around and collected all the tickets which he had given out, saying that he would not pay for them. After he had collected all the tickets he discovered the joke and gave them out again.

But the most interesting part of all, is he fact that the man to whom the tickets were sent, was the only man in the department. WHO READS THE NEW YORK SUN. A. E. R.
21st A. D., Brooklyn, Nov. 25.

One of Their "Branches."

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—A stray copy of the "Appeal to Reason" fell into my hands, and from it I learn that the list of branches of the many-named "Socialist" party, corrected up to October 31, 1901, has one located at Bakersfield, Cal., with C. D. Lavin, Kern City, Cal., as secretary. If the balance of the list is as well founded as their branch of which I am said to be the Secretary, they are in a bad way; for it has not the slightest foundation. We have in no way been identified; to clear this matter up let me state a few facts.

In January, 1899, we were organized a Section of the S.L.P. It existed till July, 1899; and as there was not a subscriber of THE PEOPLE in the lot, all were at sea in reference to the con-

trovery that then arose, and we simply died.

May 31, 1901, we were granted a charter of the Socialist Labor Party. We now have a good list of subscribers to THE PEOPLE and are gradually working ourselves to a clear understanding of the principles. Our experience has taught us the virtue of S.L.P. tactics.

I make this explanation to show what pillars of strength such "Socialist" alias "Social Democratic" branches must be, and also the principles that animate the headquarters of such a movement.

C. D. Lavin,
Kern City, Cal., Nov. 20.

Agitation in Vancouver.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—Section Vancouver of the Socialist Labor Party of Canada held a mass meeting on Thursday evening, Nov. 14 in the City Hall, the largest in Vancouver. A large number attended and listened attentively to the lecturer, Raleigh Hamerton, of New York city, who reviewed the recent developments in trades unionism from the Socialist Labor Party standpoint, and championed the S. T. & L. A. against the existing pure and simple organization criticizing the latter sharply for their shortcomings. He declared they had failed to keep up with economic progress and said in part:

In order to understand the conflict between capital and labor it was necessary to go beneath the surface. The origin of these conflicts was in the economic constitution of society. He traced the development of industry showing how the capitalist class and the proletariat had arisen and showed how their economic situation had compelled the latter to form defensive organizations. Among the earliest trades unions there was a dim recognition of this class structure of society. The active hostility of the capitalist compelled them to cloak their real purpose under the name of benevolent and provident societies but their functions were purely economic. Then too, the workers of Great Britain were denied the ballot or there is good evidence to show they would have attempted political action. The early trades unions were animated by a desire to benefit the whole working class, not any particular section of it. But they were unable to foresee the development of industry, therefore their ultimate aim was only to secure a favorable position in capitalist society.

The speaker then laid down the laws which govern the growth of organization showing that there must be a maximum point of development beyond which evolution could not proceed. It must then either take a new course or retrogress. Reviewing the present pure and simple trades unionism he showed that the maximum point of development had already been reached. Their progress is the same as that of 100 years ago; their methods are identical. In accordance with the law of development their efforts have taken a new direction that of accommodating themselves to capitalist society. They have forgotten or refused to see what their predecessors dimly realized, the class struggle between the workers and the capitalist class, and we hear the labor fakir declare that the interest of the laborer and capitalist can be harmonized. Again, instead of being a fighting organization, under the cloak of benevolent and benefit societies, the growth of sick and death benefit and insurance schemes, the system of high dues and initiation fees, have made them harmless coffin organizations under the name of trades unions.

Again the new course taken is in the direction of accommodation to capitalist society. The present trades unions (pure and simple) also refuse to recognize the solidarity of the working class as high fees, high dues are designed to prevent men from becoming members of trades unions. The leaders thus endeavor to create a conflict among the workers. An "aristocracy of labor" appears, which refuses to recognize the right of unskilled labor to organize.

Another move in the direction of capitalist society—the early trades unionist would have used political action if they had been allowed to vote but the pure and simple trades unionist of to-day rejected his, the most powerful weapon of the workers in their struggle with the capitalist. Their leaders brought their dupes to the shambles of the capitalist entering into struggle after struggle where any sensible man must have known that defeat was inevitable. Furthermore the odds in every contest were against the workers from the beginning.

The speaker then declared that these facts showed that instead of making progress, pure and simple trades unionism had outlived its usefulness, that it had become a mere appendage of capitalist society, and the only thing left for the class conscious workers was to organize in the new trades-union, the S. T. & L. A.—the trades union of the future. The trades unionism of the future would recognize the solidarity of all workers, would be an organization existing for defensive purposes and not a sick and death benefit or insurance scheme. It would recognize the hard facts of capitalist society and refuse to run its head against the social wall. It would insist upon political action as against the capitalist class. Finally it would have no accommodation of the working class to capitalist society but would resolve on its destruction as the old Roman general concluded every speech against his country's immemorial foe with Cathaginian ease delenda; so the S. T. & L. A. takes for its motto a motto held firmly in mind in every struggle for better wages or shorter hours: "Not a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, but the wage-system must be abolished entirely."

As usual after the lecture, questions and discussions were invited. These occupied about one hour mostly from the rank and file of trades unions. The Grit or Liberal party took care to make an excuse for the absence of the labor

fakirs by having a smoking concert on the same evening and inviting the fakir giving him the excuse he could not be in two places at one time. He naturally would have preferred to fight the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. I don't think.

For PRESS COMMITTEE.

R. BAKER.
Vancouver, B. C., Nov. 16.

From Montrose, Colo.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—To Party members at large and San Francisco, Cal., Campaign Committee in particular: To exemplify and revivify clean cut class consciousness, I make the following motion. In all future elections throughout the United States, disfranchised militant S. L. P. comrades be required to vote the S. L. P. ticket as a protest. Refusal, grounds for expulsion. Comrades of Montrose county, Colorado, at last election were disfranchised by and through Democratic and Republican notaries and justices of Montrose refusing to assist S. L. P. in securing one hundred acknowledged necessary signatures. However, Section Olathe shot ten straight S. L. P. votes into congealed Democrat and Republican capitalism in the face of our disfranchisement. Our ten STRAIGHTS were counted and telephoned with Democrat and Republican returns three times to the county seat, calling forth much comment. San Francisco comrades lost a GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY to prove their class conscious stickitativeness by not voting a protest, using disfranchisement as propaganda.

Section Olathe, November 16, 1901, elected the following officers:

George Ash—Organizer.
E. M. Dawes—Secretary.
Mrs. Ida E. Ash—Assistant Secretary.
Adolph De Guelle—Financial Sec'y.
Mrs. Mattie Burns—Treasurer.
Edward De Guelle—Literary Agent.
Thanksgiving greetings to Fort Terror to Capitalism, those indispensable, fearless, national and international propagandists, our DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE! Fort Terror, we are assuredly coming!

E. M. DAWES.
Montrose, Colo., Nov. 23.

Information Regarding Henry Pease.

To the DAILY AND WEEKLY PEOPLE.—In your issue of November 11 a comrade from Pontiac, Mich., wanted to know something about a man by the name of Pease, hailing from Hartford, Conn.

Well, there was a man by the name of Henry Pease, who came here from a small town about ten miles northeast of Hartford, which is called South Windsor. It has a population of about 2,000. Tobacco raising is its principal industry. When his father died he left Henry about \$30,000, and our Henry proceeded to blow himself so that, according to reports he does not need a watchman to protect what he had left. Henry's wife and family are still living in South Windsor and it is generally understood that they do not speak, or in other words they have separated.

One man said Pease owed him a bill, and he tried every way to induce "Dear Henry" to pay, but it was no use. So he had attachment papers served by a deputy sheriff, and got a settlement, but our deputy sheriff aspired to be sheriff, and Henry was a delegate to that convention, so our deputy sheriff made a deal with Henry: that he would pay the costs of the attachment if Henry would assist him in the convention. The deputy sheriff paid the costs out of his pocket, and after the convention he found out that Pease had supported another candidate. Henry was selectman of South Windsor about the years 1894 and 1895, and during this portion of his political career he gave the Hartford Street Railroad Company a certain lay out. Let me say right here that selectmen of these towns have all the power of our city fathers, and there are only three selectmen to a town, and Henry was one of them. There was nothing left for our South Windsorites but the courts, and as those positions were occupied by men with true capitalist instinct, our middle class friends decided to let things alone because it might raise their taxes! The result was the railroad company got everything that Henry could give them or they could take, but "Poor Henry" got his discharge at the next town election.

It was then he came to Hartford to collect his reward for his dirty work, but I guess the railroad company was on to his crooked ways, for they would not allow him to be superintendent. They only trusted him with one car on a very short run, where the inspectors could see him very often. That was the Lafayette street line, and I can not find any record of his promotion. It is generally understood at South Windsor by his friends that he is in Michigan—doing something or somebody. Let me say to our friend at Pontiac that if this is the Pease which you have, that you might just as well keep him until the devil claims his own, thus saving others the trouble of watching him.

G. S.
East Hartford, Conn., Nov. 28.

LETTER BOX.

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

M. L. L. TROY, N. Y.—At the capitol in Albany you will probably find a copy of the "History of the English Constitution" and of Thier's history of the French Revolution. You will find there that when the Stuarts were restored in England, Cromwell previously exacted from Charles certain pledges. These were given, and when moved the most galling features of feudalism that had existed under his father, likewise in France, with the aid of Talleyrand, the Louis and his noblemen who were restored were shorn of the feudal privileges enjoyed by the Louis and his noblemen who were beheaded.

D. C. NEW YORK.—The New Haven debate on Trades Unionism was published in full in the DAILY PEOPLE of the following Sunday. The Harriman version was pirated from that and did not appear until several weeks later.

W. E. K. CHICAGO, ILL.—You think THE PEOPLE unjustly abuses Richard J.

Hinton? In what way? Is it to abuse a man who sets himself up against the S. L. P. to remind people of his history on an important occasion? Was it to "abuse" him by saying that he was placed by the party in 1899 in the position of editor of the party's then English organ, "The Leader"; that, in the campaign of the year 1900, he was placed by the party in a picture and put of a capitalist candidate; and that the organization (it called itself then the Progressive Labor Party) expelled him for that action? Do you call that "abusing" a man?

More next week.

W. W. BRIDGEPORT, CT.—It is called the "Polynomial" or "Many-Names" Party on account of its numerous names. Here in New York the thing is called "Social Democracy"; across in New Jersey they call it "Socialist Party"; in Massachusetts they call it by the name of "Democratic Social"; in Pennsylvania the style is "Public Ownership Party," etc.

B. R. PUEBLO, COLO.—Simply because both William and Wajay are at the end of their tether of fakirish circulations.

D. H. HAVERHILL, MASS.—Don't the figures tell the whole tale? The Social Democratic vote of Haverhill went down, and yet Carey's vote went up. Who elected him? Can you figure before you trot out such silly arguments.

T. E. K. HAHN'S POINT, COLO.—Since you quote the Bible, at least indulge in Bible language, let us remind you of the passage in which the Prince of Peace decries those who cry "peace, peace," where there is no peace, and where there is no peace must begin by eliminating elements of discord.

"S. L. P." CLEVELAND, O.—Yes, the copies sent you were for distribution, of course. That Hickey "Special" has proved a unique and profitable experience, whatever pleased the S. L. P. displeased the Kangaroos; and whatever pleased the Kangaroos was displeasing to the S. L. P. In this instance, the Kangaroos are throwing fits with joy, and the S. L. P. is roaring with laughter.

G. F. K. ALBANY, N. Y.—1st: There is no truth in the statement that either the party collectively, or the comrade individually, ever sought to win over the slum element

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Beards street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
F. J. Darch, Secretary, 119 Dundas street, Market square, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.
2-6 New Beards street. (The Party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office 7 Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held on November 29, at 2-6 New Beards street. Gilhaus in the chair. Absent, Hammer, Fleiberg, and Forbes, the two former without excuse, the latter with excuse. R. Katz was elected according Secretary pro tem. The financial report for the week ending Nov. 23 showed receipts in the amount of \$28.35; expenditures \$51.32.

The Texas State Executive Committee sent communication relative to the Lyon affair which was ordered published in the DAILY PEOPLE. Tacoma, Wash., reported about attacks of capitalist press; a number of their members have left town in search of work and the Section has suffered but will pull up again. Pittsburgh, Pa., reported about fair and DAILY PEOPLE banquet. Section San Francisco, Cal., reported expulsion of Thomas Shaughnessy and Joseph De Vries, the former for crooked practices in connection with gathering signatures in nominating petition of the section, the latter for having circulated slanders. The section also reported in detail the circumstances connected with failure to get the ballot in the late municipal campaign. The Mass. State Executive Committee sent copy of State by-laws for endorsement of N. E. C. Action deferred until next meeting in order to ascertain whether said by-laws conflict with the National constitution of the Party. The Committee in charge of Middle West Circuit sent word that work will be discontinued for the winter after dates set for Minn. have been covered and will be resumed in spring.

Resolved to elect Joseph Schlossberg acting Editor of the "Abend Blatt." A complaint from editorial staff of the "Abend-Blatt" is to be investigated and a sub-committee was elected for that purpose.

The National Secretary reported that the vote of the Italian Sections and Branches on Managing Committee of five for "Il Proletario" has resulted in a ratification of the selection made by the N. E. C. and the committee will be called upon to organize and begin work.

The vote on delegate to S. T. & L. A. National convention was then canvassed and Thomas Curran having received the highest number of votes, was declared elected. Quite a number of votes had been cast for Chas. Kroll who withdrew while the vote was on. Tabulation of the vote will be printed in THE PEOPLE.

The call for general vote on the question of amending Art. X of the Party constitution was then taken up and read. Klein at first objected to some portions of the draft which led to lengthy discussion. Question finally called for and motion made to vote by roll call. Carried. Vote taken as follows: For the call as read: Gilhaus, Katz and Klein. Against Kereny.

Rudolph Katz, Rec. Sec., pro tem.

The Frank D. Lynn Fund.

F. Serrin, New Haven, Conn., 15

Section St. Louis, Mo., 11.00

Jacob Bernstein, N. Y. City, 1.00

E. E. Madison, Richmond, Va., 1.00

Chas. Heloe, Baltimore, Md., 2.00

Branch 3, Section Providence, R. I., Felix Leonard \$1; John Murphy \$1; Peter McDermott \$1; Henry Green \$1; Chas. Liddle \$1; B. J. Murray \$1; James Hackett \$1; Patrick Muldowney \$1; John Gannon \$1; Ernest Myers \$1; Michael Clabby \$1; Hugh Murphy \$1; James McGuigan \$1; Michael J. Taylor \$1; James O'Gara \$1; Herman Kessler \$1; Joseph Morton \$1; Henry Starr \$1; 12.75

San Francisco, Cal., M. Schlosser \$1; A. C. McGlory \$1 1.00

William Foster, North Adams, Mass., 1.00

M. Kaplan, N. Y. City, 1.00

Camden, New Jersey, County, N. Y., Patrick J. Troy \$2; O. Carragher \$1; Richard W. Gaffney \$1; John Kilgus \$1; Peter Jacobson \$1; Abo Einstein \$1; F. J. Schragman \$1; J. J. Stanton \$1; Jacob Fishman \$1; Abraham Stiglitz \$1; A. Lamm \$1; H. Winkler \$1; O. Klavner \$1; C. Peterson \$1; cash \$1; G. S. Thompson \$1; E. V. Smith \$1; M. J. Lynch \$1; P. Anderson \$1; C. Nelson \$1; H. Tolpelt \$1; H. Henkel \$1; J. Julius G. Klavner \$1; G. Kenrenko \$1; C. Woodard \$1; Orberg \$1; John McCabe \$1; George Ernest \$1; Henry Gray \$1; cash \$1; E. Duan \$1; A. Weissman \$1; A. Riggs \$1; W. McDonnell \$1; Fred Linquist \$1; Peter Toolstrip \$1; George Cameron, Jr., \$1; James Crago \$1; A. Foster \$1; 19.75

H. Hilkowitz, Denver, Col., 2.00

A. Let. Boston, Pa., 1.00

11th A. D., Section Cleveland, Ohio, 1.00

New York City, J. P., 75c

T. S. 35c

Carl Schuster, Asheville, N. C., 1.00

Section Westchester County, N. Y., Branch Pleasantville, Chas. Matthews, 10c; Chas. Hoff, 10c; Geo. W. Boyer, 10c; S. Hoop, 10c; B. Z. Thora, 10c; S. Wild, 10c; B. Holles, 10c; B. Bar, 10c; P. Tray, 10c; John H. Bane, 10c; Geo. Bonnard, 10c; G. W. Shubert, 10c; W. Marshall, 10c; S. D. Shaughnessy, 10c; S. W. Cason, 10c; G. W.

Bell 10c; Borup 10c; C. B. Prepot 10c; E. G. Parker 10c; F. A. Brooks 10c; W. D. Bayley 10c; B. McCleidy 10c; Oscar Olson 10c; Chas. Larson 10c; Geo. Anderson 10c; E. D. Barry 10c; Aug. Anderson 10c; P. Gorman 10c; H. Hartmeyer 10c; H. Hutchings 10c; D. Davis 10c; O. Doley 10c; F. H. Partelow 10c; Wm. Hammond 10c; Geo. C. With 10c; J. Duddy 10c; H. Homlin 10c; Robt. Johnson 10c; N. Nopp 10c; Wm. Minnequy 10c; S. E. Tucker 10c; S. A. Connors 25c; W. Thurber 10c; Thos. Wale 10c; W. F. Knopp 25c; H. J. Durveher 10c; Chas. T. Boyce 10c; W. Baker 25c; W. Arnols \$1 C. C. Crolly \$1; J. Pierce \$2; C. H. Friend 25c; Hovey Brundige 5c; C. O. Harris 10c 10.25

11th and 13th A. D., N. Y., Wm. McVeigh 1.00

Albert Johnson, Unionport, N. J., 5.00

E. Baler 25c; J. H. S. 25c; U. Fraeh 50c; E. Landgraf 50c; F. Ball \$1; J. Tully 50c; F. Koettgen 50c; H. Landgraf 25c 4.00

E. W. Grant, Bingham, Utah, 2.50

Section Chicago, Ill., A. Linkefelter 25c; W. J. Berns 50c; C. Malm 25c; O. E. Harder \$1; M. Parison 50c; A. O. Gordon 50c; C. A. Baustian 25c; J. Wolda 25c; B. Nelson 50c; H. Hottel 50c; Theo. Bernine 25c; E. Anderson 25c; R. A. Cochrane 25c; M. Hiltner 50c; F. House 25c 6.00

Section Woonsocket, R. I., Frank Fogarty 50c; John Monk 50c; Warren Carpenter 25c 1.25

Carl Peterson, Chicago, Ill., 1.00

C. Hansen, St. Paul, Minn., 1.00

Wm. Widenberg, Erie, Pa., 1.00

A. F. N. Y. City, 1.00

August Schade, Phoenix, Ariz., 2.00

23rd A. D., N. Y., John J. Murphy \$1; John E. Dietrich 50c 1.50

S. Goodwin, 25c

Alfred Lampo, Salda, Cal., 50c

John Churches, Eureka, Cal., 1.00

Branch 4, Section Providence, R. I., 1.00

Greensburg, Pa., Peter Lul \$1; Geo. Dice 50c; Thos. Dibb 50c 2.00

Section Janette, Pa., 2.00

Section Seattle, Wash., J. T. Walsh \$1.50; Wagner 50c; E. M. Drily 50c; Frank Crossman 25c 2.75

Through Abendblatt office, Zenker's Shop \$1; Louis Rothenberg 25c; Jacob Bernman 50c; Thomas Paine Literary Society \$1.10; A. Zucker 25c; Bertha L. Levy 50c; Max Sheikowsky 10c; H. Raices 50c; M. R. 10c; B. H. 10c; S. Crossman 15c; K. 25c; B. Dorfman 15c; H. Bernstein 15c; B. K. 10c 5.45

Total \$110.60

Previously acknowledged \$130.30

Grand total \$249.90

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter Sept. 3, 1901.)

Previously acknowledged \$3717.19

32nd and 33d A. D., N. Y. City, 25.00

M. Elchner, Brooklyn, N. Y.—A Bet 3.00

14th A. D., N. Y. City, 1.00

Max Friedberger 1.00

Leos Pilout 2.50

Chas. Gamsu 50c

John Kleinberger 1.00

Pius Fisher 1.00

Jonas Greenberg 2.50

Joseph Hepp 50c

Leo Pruslin 1.00

Otto Sullivan, Revere, Mass., 50c

Collection per N. Van Kerkvoorde, Sloan, N. Y., 4.68

B. Kaplan, N. Y. City, 2.00

28th A. D., N. Y. City, 5.00

Max Halder 5.00

Daniel De Leon 15.00

Section Boston, Mass., 3.00

22nd Ward Branch 1.00

15th Ward Branch 1.00

A. F. N. Y. City, 1.00

North Adams, Mass., 1.00

Wm. Foster 1.00

23rd A. D., N. Y. City, 4.00

Section Grand Junction, Colo., 3.50

John Bayre, Edinburg, Scotland, 30c

Section East St. Louis, Ill., 2.00

Henry Sale, Chicago, Ill., 1.00

Section Cleveland, Ohio, 3.00

Rudolph Boehm 2.00

L. Haug 2.00

M. Meder 1.00

Max Blank 2.00

James Matthews 5.00

H. E. Wagner 50c

Cash 3.00

Joe Reiman 2.00

John Elben 1.00

A. Messner 25c

Kasper Schuster 25c

10th District Branch, 25.00

Joe Gable 1.00

W. P. Kelm 50c

Ed. Kauts 5.00

Otto Gundersmann, Wausau, Wis., 50c

Ebling Hansen, Chicago, Ill., 1.00

Section Paterson, N. J., 3.00

E. Gilmore 1.00

H. Pohl 1.00

F. Rauer 50c

G. Steiner 50c

O. Ginter 50c

7th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., 2.50

James Hingworth, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1.00

S. Goodwin 25c

Section Rensselaer and Albany Counties, N. Y., balance of 2.50

Section Seattle, Wash., 25.00

K. C. 34th and 35th A. D. N. Y. City, 2.00

Montrose, Colo., 3.00

F. Hoffman 3.00

E. M. Dawes 1.25

Section Latrobe, Pa., 5.70

J. B. Escomer, 50c

A. Stoessel, 25c

Total 3904.87

In the list published Nov. 24th, the contribution of \$15.50 from the 5th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., was omitted. The total is correct as published.

Edward Dietrich, Cashier.

THE S. T. & L. A. CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 1.)

we must have one that is not impotent. You can not fight capital as the pure and simpler says. You must watch your chance and when it comes use it with as little mercy and as much skill as the capitalist class has used its opportunities against you. It is a robber class, and when you can take a little of its spoils away you should do so. A hopeless strike a strike that cannot be won, is as bad as a mismanaged or a corruptly led strike. Therefore, we must avoid ill-advised strikes. The working class suffers enough now, and it should be for us to see that the body which is organized to assist it should not be the cause of more suffering.

A time comes in every trade when it is necessary to strike. The workers may have been goaded and wronged to such an extent that they are forced to turn and fight. That is not a case that occurs once in a great while. It is a matter of frequent occurrence, and when such a time comes we must be ready. An organization there will be, so it might as well be a right one. As long as the capitalist exploits the work there will be a trades union. Such being the case we have entered the field, not because we believe that the trades union is a finality, but because we know that the workers cannot be set adrift to run on the rocks of pure and simpledom, or on the shoals of despair.

We believe that the Alliance is the best form of organization and that it does away with all the crimes and most of the mistakes of the old forms. As time goes by we shall see our way more clearly to obviate all the mistakes with which the old unions are riddled.

Our Constitution.

Our constitution as at present constructed does not meet the demands of our organization. During the year inquiry after inquiry has been made by our Locals, Districts, and individual members upon matters which our constitution says nothing about whatever. It is absolutely necessary if we expect to have a properly organized and disciplined army of wage workers that this convention revise our present constitution and clearly define the laws that shall govern the several subdivisions, namely members, Locals, Districts, and National Trade Alliances, and we should suggest that you would consider the following points:

1st—The admission of new members.

2nd—The duties of officers and standing committees of Locals, District and National Trade Alliances.

3rd—What powers a National Trade Alliance has.

4th—What powers a District Alliance has over Trade Alliances affiliated with the N. T. A.

5th—The duties of General Organizers.

6th—The rights of individual members of lapsed or expelled Locals who wish to remain in the Alliance or withdraw with a clear card.

7th—Penalty if a Local or District enters into a strike and refuses to allow Socialist agitation.

8th—Penalty if a Local, District, National Trade Alliance or individual member issues scurrilous and slanderous denunciations against our movement.

9th—Penalty if any Local refuses to file quarterly reports forty days after the quarter ends.

10th—How the above should be enforced.

11th—Define the methods of trial and appeal, and specify the length of time from the action of the Local or District an appeal can be taken. The length of time allowed an appellant to decide an appeal.

12th—To draft a section that will clearly state whether a member of a Local Alliance which has been expelled and has failed to take a transfer card to another Local or a withdrawal card from the Alliance and is a member of the S. L. P. can visit a Local Alliance.

13th—That the officers and standing committees of Locals, Districts, and National Trade Alliances shall be uniform.

14th—Draft a pledge of secrecy for the use of Local Alliances that are working secretly.

15th—That the committee on credentials be appointed or elected prior to the Convention to pass upon credentials presented by the several subdivisions.

16th—To change section 12 of article 10 so that a general vote shall be taken by membership instead of locals.

17th—Define the right and duties of members at large.

We believe that if these points are drafted into laws that the machinery of our organization will run much smoother than hitherto.

Alliance Literature.

There has been a growing demand for Alliance literature, and this in itself shows a healthy and commendable spirit. We recommend that our official organ be carefully watched, and that as articles appear on different trades an attempt be made to weld them into leaflets for use in those trades. In this way a great deal of useful matter can be gotten together, and spread among the members of the working class. The call for matter for debates can also be met in the same manner. Different Locals should make it a point to keep a file of the People, and carefully note articles which may be used. This will be the most convenient way of keeping touch with the needed matter.

The Official Organ.

While speaking of the People it would be well to state that there is no better possible way of strengthening our organization than by building up its subscription list. We urgently recommend that greater efforts be made in this direction, and that the Locals and individual members see that all Alliancemen are readers of our paper. A locality where this

THE FIELD OF CAPITAL

formed similar to the recently incorporated Northern Securities Company. The Erie, Jersey Central, Reading and Lehigh Valley will figure in the group in connection with the New York Central.

Interchange of traffic, control of anthracite trade, and the establishment of a central agency, by means of which millions can be saved are the objects of this railroad combine.

Finally, the Liverpool "Fair Play," a shipping authority, stated that it learns that a gigantic scheme is in contemplation by which a United States Syndicate would acquire the whole of the Clyde shipyards, either by purchasing them outright or by affecting a combination on the lines of the United States Steel Corporation.

This was, most likely, due to the Thanksgiving Day festivities, which were indulged in by the capitalist class, thus necessitating a cessation of their peculiar activities.

This indulgence was unusually great, for all classes of this land, the capitalist class had especially good reasons for giving "thanks" for "blessings" received during the past year.

These "blessings" were numerous indeed. They include the commercial dominance of the world and the greatest period of dividend paying that the history of the country has yet recorded.

That such "blessings" are only made possible by the increased suffering and exploitation of the working class of the world, that they are certain to be shortly followed by a reaction—an international crash—that will make the panic of 1893, insignificant in comparison, does not detract from their intrinsic worth to the capitalists, for they have not to suffer, while as for panics, history shows that they crush out the middle class and compel closer concentration together with gigantic capitalization.

The news under consideration, while extraordinary or unusual, is, nevertheless, interesting, and in many respects, illustrative of the ways of capitalism, by means of which the "blessings" referred to were attained.

A despatch from London, England, dated Nov. 25, partly shows how commercial dominance of the world is made possible. According to this despatch "The Daily Mail" says that acute depression and ruin prevails at Northampton because of American competition in the shoe industry." This of course, effects the working class, robbing them of employment, etc.

The strikers in the shoe and leather industries of this country, against poor wages, intensification of labor, and brutal and tyrannical conditions complete the picture, and reveal how commercial dominance means world working class suffering.

Again it is estimated that the December dividend and interest disbursements will be \$47,461,664. Railroad dividends call for \$7,099,719; industrial dividends \$16,006,900; traction and lighting \$3,278,184 and mining \$799,000; railroad interest \$13,781,940; industrial interest \$3,296,021; and municipal bonds \$2,600,000.

In addition to the above there were also many rumors of new steel corporations, organized in opposition to the Steel Trust. One of these was said to have a capital of \$250,000,000. So far, nothing definite can be learned of this corporation and it appears to be a myth.

The soft coal trust is pushing its plans for national control of that fuel. During the week it secured options on the Illinois and Indiana coal mines. The Chicago and Eastern Illinois and the "union" Railroad have assured the trust that they will prevent the independents from finding a railway outlet for their product. Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio and other territories are now dominated by the trust, which is a J. Pierpont Morgan institution.

The Borden Condensed Milk Company which has \$17,500,000 common stock intends to issue \$3,750,000 preferred stock to absorb several rival concerns. The Borden Condensed Milk Company is a great factor in determining the price of milk purchased from New York farmers.

It is declared that there is a project afoot to make the Reading Railroad the Pennsylvania end of a big trunk-line system.

This will include a group of railroads

prevalis is certain to be a good field for Alliance work.

Affiliating With the Party.

Trade Alliances have, in some instances, not been used to the best interests of the Socialist Labor Party. There is no need of dwelling at length on the necessity of the political movement, and we believe that it will be sufficient to call your attention to the facts to have you go ahead with the work. Every Trade Alliance should be a recruiting school for the Party, and it lies with you to make it so.

Agitation.

Agitation has been carried on during the last year as far as means would allow. There must be more agitation and more systematic work in organization. This, if carried on with care and forethought, will give us increased membership, and consequently increased opportunity to broaden our field of work. But we must rely on the locals and members to put us in touch with the localities where work can be most profitably done. There should be no wasting of efforts. Meeting should be carefully advertised, and all preliminary work done so that an organizer can work to advantage.

Conclusion.

In conclusion we wish to call your attention to a thing that is more marked than in former years, that is the opposition that has developed against us. This comes from the old trades unions, and is instigated and abetted by the employers in every instance. The tannery workers, shoemakers, cigar makers, machinists, printers, iron and steel workers, and tin and sheet iron workers in our ranks have all felt the effects of this opposition. It does not prove that our fellow workmen are corrupt, but it does show the close bond of sympathy that exists between Organized Scabbery and the employers. But we can take as a single instance of the correctness of our tactics, and the rightness of the course we have pursued. We can take it as an encouragement for us to go ahead, and lead the workers out of the pestiferous swamp in which they are now on the economic field.

PROVIDENCE "TELEGRAM."

(Continued from